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For Asians, Battle for Kosovo Is Distant

Only Indonesia And China Find Reasons to Object

By John Vinocur and Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune

BANGKOK — About a week into NATO's bombing campaign against Yugoslavia, the United States' recently arrived ambassador to Thailand, Richard Hecklinger, made his first public appearance before a group of journalists. The only question he was required to field about the fighting came from Izvestia's man in Bangkok.

The rest of the questioners, Thai and foreign, stuck largely to Asian issues, in particular the U.S. position on the nomination of a new head of the World Trade Organization. The ambassador spent most of his time attempting to find diplomatic phrasing to explain why a Thai candidate for the trade organization job did not have enthusiastic American support.

With the impact of the Asian economic crisis weighing heavily on most of the region and dominating its attention, the war in Kosovo is not an overwhelming subject of preoccupation. Concern appears to be at a level considerably less than during the Gulf War in 1991, which threatened oil supplies to Asia and slowed its tourism and trade. Although accounts of the Kosovo attacks and the plight of the refugees remained prominent, local articles often dominated newspaper front pages.

There was a fairly significant exception, however. On the level of principle, some Asian countries, notably China and Indonesia, saw parallels in the Kosovo situation to their own ethnic problems.

The air attacks, which began late in March and have been described in Yugoslavia as a violation by outside forces of state sovereignty, loomed as a potential justification for intervention against China or Indonesia over territory they regard as integral.

But a bit in the same manner that Europe and the Americas have not been dramatically shaken in the aftermath of the Asian economic difficulties, Asia looks mostly at Europe's widest conflict since World War II as a distant event that will not affect it.

"We understand how irritated

See ASIA, Page 4

Albania Accuses Serbia of an Infantry Incursion

NATO Warns Belgrade Against Attempting to Expand the War

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — Albania asserted Tuesday that Serbia had sent infantry across the frontier during the day to raid a remote northern border post and village and burn houses after days of shelling there.

U.S. officials warned the Belgrade authorities of "serious consequences" should it seek to widen the Balkan conflict.

Yugoslavia, which says Albania is harboring separatist ethnic Albanian fighters, insisted no incursion had taken place. A Foreign Ministry spokesman called the report a provocation.

"We do not represent a threat to any neighboring nation, including Albania," the spokesman said. "We are taking only self-defense actions."

Albanian state television said later that the Serbian

force of up to 100 men had been driven back from the village of Kamenica after the police "fought with them for many hours."

NATO, meanwhile, kept up a heavy pattern of air strikes, hitting fuel supplies overnight. Aircraft targeted the country's biggest oil refinery, near Belgrade, for the second time in 24 hours. Missiles also struck an oil depot and a plastics factory near the Kosovo capital, Pristina, according to the Yugoslav press agency Tanjug.

General Wesley Clark, commander of the NATO forces, said 70 percent of Yugoslavia's petroleum, oil and lubricant stores had been hit so far in three weeks of raids. Fuel supplies for civilian use are reportedly running out.

General Clark apologized for a missile that hit a passenger train in Serbia on Monday, an attack that Yugoslav authorities said killed 10 civilians.

He called it "an uncanny accident" and added,

"We're all very sorry for it."

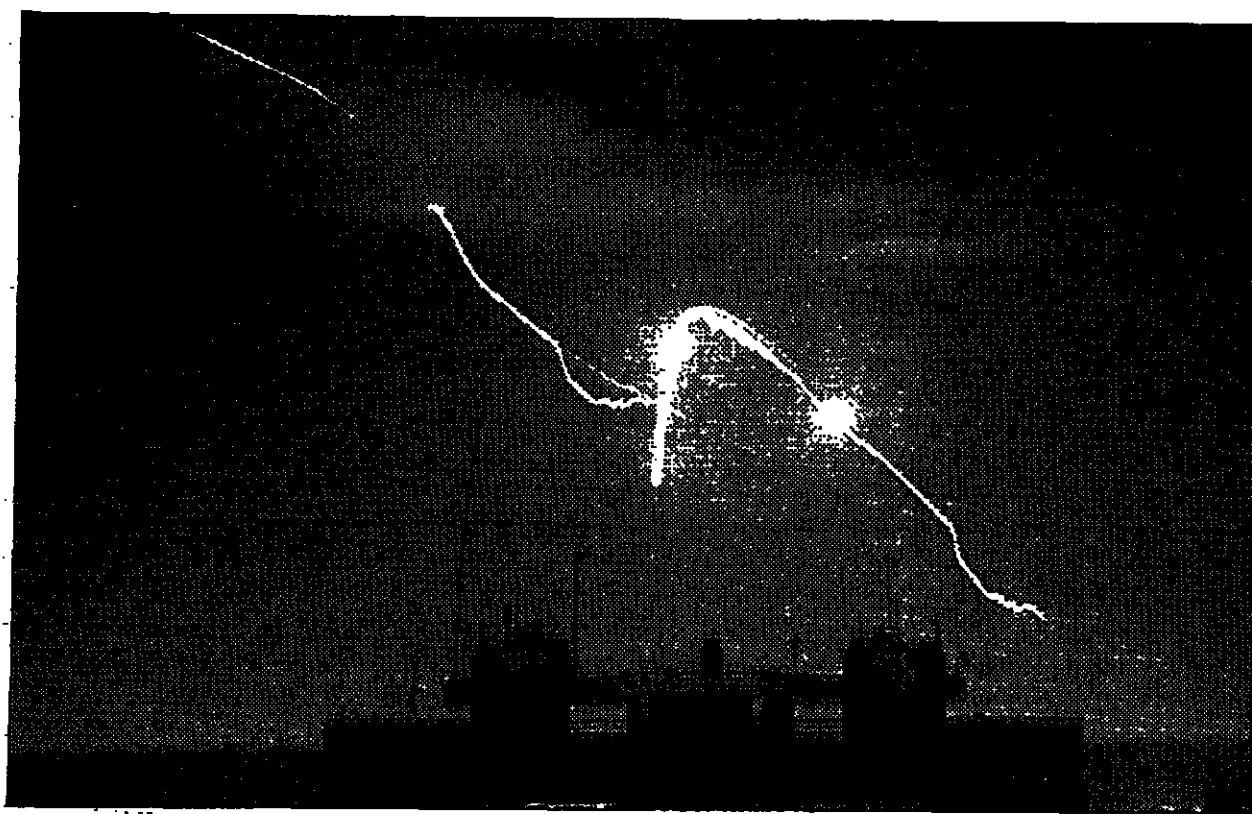
But General Clark said NATO's bombing raids were winning the war against Yugoslav forces.

In Oslo, the U.S. secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, met Tuesday with her Russian counterpart, Igor Ivanov, seeking to calm Moscow's anger over NATO's action and to offer a peacekeeping role for Russian troops in Kosovo. (Page 2.)

Although she reported positive results in the talks, saying that Moscow and Washington would continue working together for peace, the Russian defense minister, General Igor Sergeev, said Moscow was considering sending more warships into the region.

In Washington, President Bill Clinton said Tuesday that NATO's bombing was "diminishing and grinding down" President Slobodan Milosevic's military.

See KOSOVO, Page 4



A Serbian defense missile intercepting a NATO missile early Tuesday over Belgrade during intense attacks.

Escalation of Air War Underscores Its Flaws

Low-Tech Serb Tactics Stymie NATO Plan

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — NATO's announcement of major reinforcements, confronting Serbia with a U.S.-led air armada of more than 1,000 warplanes, underscored signs Tuesday that the alliance's initial battle plan had failed to deliver the expected results and needed an urgent escalation in firepower to offer a realistic prospect of military victory in Kosovo.

"Our high technology weapons' performance would be devastating against a sophisticated adversary fighting our kind of war," a North Atlantic Treaty Organization commander acknowledged privately, "but they work much less well in a politically constrained campaign against Serbians who are skillfully using nearly obsolescent weapons to fight in ways we had almost forgotten about."

Serbian forces, for example, have resorted to firing their surface-to-air missiles using radar mounted on each battery. That method reduces the effectiveness of the missiles in comparison to modern systems integrating individual batteries with remote radars that provide more time for aiming and firing. But missile crews operating independently only turn on their radars briefly, making it harder for warplanes to home in for the kill using anti-radar missiles.

Even with sharply reduced capabilities, the surviving missiles pose a potential threat to low-flying warplanes, dissuading NATO from ordering ground-attack fighters to pursue low-level attacks to kill tanks.

Serbia, meanwhile, also has broken up its armored units so that tanks operate alone or in pairs, reducing their exposure as targets.

Senior officials in Washington said Monday that the Pentagon planned to approve the deployment of 500 additional warplanes. The added planes, which were requested by General Wesley Clark, NATO's top military commander, would increase the number of U.S. and NATO aircraft committed to the campaign to nearly 1,000, more than double the number — 430 — that the alliance had on hand when it began the strikes on March 24.

The White House spokesman said Tuesday that Defense Secretary William Cohen might ask President Bill Clinton for authority to call up some military reserve forces. The spokesman, Joe Lockhart, gave no figures and did not outline what the reservists would be doing.

In miscalculating the impact of air strikes and underestimating Serbian abilities to elude a knockout blow and exploit Western blind spots, the initial NATO

See BELGRADE, Page 4

See BUILDUP, Page 4

Lighting the Fires of Rage: 'Collateral Damage'

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Service

BELGRADE — Early Tuesday morning, Dragana Krstic was recovering from an operation to remove a tumor from her stomach when there was a deafening explosion outside Belgrade's largest military hospital.

The blast shattered numerous windows, sending a shower of glass and metal over the 23-year-old shopkeeper, wounding her in the shoulder.

Eight hours later, a shaken Miss Krstic was denouncing NATO leaders as "fascists, imbeciles, and vandals," in interviews with Western journalists taken to the scene by the Yugoslav Army. Belgrade had added another civilian

casualty story in the propaganda war with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and ordinary Serbs had been strengthened in their belief that they — not the government of President

The U.S. and Russia reported progress on Kosovo. Page 2. • Time for allies to aid the rebels? Page 5.

Slobodan Milosevic — are the real victims of the three-week-old bombing campaign against their country.

Compared with other "mistakes" by NATO missiles and warplanes, including a missile attack Monday on a train in southern Serbia, the latest spate of civilian injuries was relatively minor.

According to doctors at the military clinic in the Belgrade suburb of Banica, at least 16 hospital patients were wounded as a result of the bombing of a military transport depot roughly 100 yards away. Most of the wounds were caused by flying glass.

The cumulative result of all this "collateral damage," however, has been to fan popular anger here against the United States and other Western countries and make ordinary Serbs more determined than ever to hang on to Kosovo.

In the words of a Belgrade taxi driver, "since our country has already been destroyed, we have less to lose now and less reason to give in to NATO demands than we had three weeks ago."

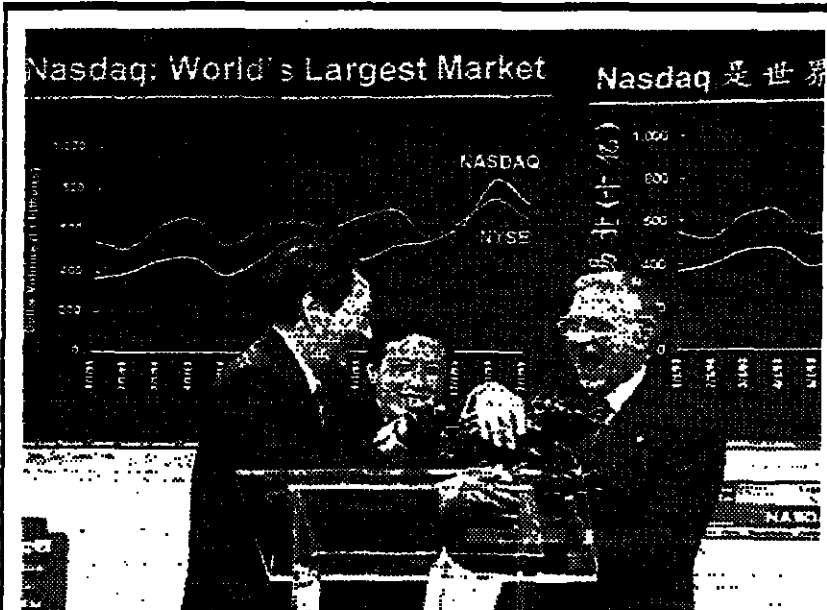
The military hospital director, Gen-

eral Aca Jovanovic, compared the latest bomb attacks to the "ravages of Genghis Khan," and speculated that his facility had been directly targeted by NATO. He said no military purpose was served in hitting the transport depot because it was empty at the time of the attack.

The military hospital suffered minor damage 10 days earlier in a bomb attack on a nearby police academy, but no one was injured on that occasion.

After a brief respite over the Orthodox Easter, NATO appears to be targeting the capital once more. On Monday night, some residents applauded as anti-aircraft units fired on NATO planes.

People with young families tend to



BULL MARKET — Prime Minister Zhu Rongji of China, left, giving a carved rosewood bull to Frank Zarb, head of the National Association of Securities Dealers, on Tuesday. Mr. Zhu's U.S. visit ran into trouble over China's World Trade Organization application. Page 13.

AGENDA

Kevorkian Given Prison Sentence

PONTIAC, Michigan (AP) — Dr. Jack Kevorkian, the eccentric champion of dying people's freedom to get help ending their lives, was sentenced Tuesday to 10 to 25 years in prison for the videotaped death of a patient who had Lou Gehrig's disease.

Judge Jessica Cooper sentenced Dr. Kevorkian, 70, after harshly criticizing his methods in killing Thomas Youk, whose death by injection was videotaped and shown on the CBS program "60 Minutes." Dr. Kevorkian could have been sentenced to life in prison.

A Timor Peace Plan

In a move to stem violence between pro- and anti-independence forces in East Timor, Indonesia has called for creation of a peace commission and imposition of a cease-fire. Page 6.

The Dollar		
New York	Tuesday @ 4 P.M.	previous close
Euro	1.0774	1.0819
Pound	1.6155	1.614
Yen	119.725	120.27
DM	1.8154	1.8078
FF	6.0886	6.063
Dollars per pound and per euro		
The Dow		
Tuesday close	percent change	
+55.50	10.385.01	+0.54%
S&P 500		
Tuesday close	percent change	
-9.75	1,348.61	-0.72%
Nasdaq		
Tuesday close	percent change	
-3.82	2,594.99	-0.15%
Books	Page 9.	
Crossword	Page 11.	
Opinion	Pages 8-9.	
The Intermarket	Pages 10, 20.	
The IHT on-line	www.ihtr.com	

New Ruling Stings Clinton

'Sanctions Must Be Imposed,' Jones Judge Says

By Jill Abramson
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Having survived impeachment, President Bill Clinton and his defenders had hoped that the legal repercussions from the Monica Lewinsky imbroglio were over. By holding Mr. Clinton in contempt, Judge Susan Webber Wright has dashed those hopes.

In a scathing 32-page ruling, Judge Wright said Monday that Mr. Clinton testified falsely in a Jan. 17, 1998, deposition that he had not had sexual relations with Ms. Lewinsky. She said the president's actions had subverted the rule of law and violated the right of Paula Jones to information relevant to her sexual misconduct lawsuit against Mr. Clinton.

Because the president is the highest law-enforcement official in the land and the highest court officer, the contempt-of-court finding is another embarrassing mark on Mr. Clinton's legacy. Judge Wright said she would delay

enforcement for 30 days to give the president and his lawyers a chance to ask for a hearing or file a notice of appeal. Mr. Clinton has already settled the Jones sexual misconduct lawsuit in which Judge Wright cited him for contempt, but her ruling could have important legal and practical effects on him.

One is monetary. Judge Wright ordered the president to pay \$1,202 to cover her expenses for traveling to Washington for the president's deposition in the Jones case on Jan. 17, 1998. Ms. Jones's lawyers may also submit their expenses connected to the deposition for reimbursement because Judge Wright has found that Mr. Clinton's false testimony "tainted" the proceedings.

The ruling could also affect the president's future earnings, if he ever intends to practice law in Arkansas after he leaves office.

Having found that he gave "intentionally false" testimony in the Jones case and found him in contempt of court, Judge Wright said she would refer the matter to the Arkansas Supreme Court's Committee on Professional Conduct. The disciplinary panel could sanction Mr. Clinton, including moving to disbar him. The American Bar Association's Model Rules of Professional Responsibility make it clear that giving false testimony is misconduct.

Where the president has denounced congressional charges of legal wrongdoing in the Lewinsky matter as partisan, he will have a more difficult time dismissing Judge Wright's ruling, which noted that she "takes no pleasure whatsoever in holding this nation's

See CLINTON, Page 3

Malaysians Sent Abroad Rankle Mahathir at Home

By Thomas Fuller
International Herald Tribune

KUALA LUMPUR — It was a February evening in London and several hundred Malaysian students, a long way from home, were packed into a basement meeting hall, listening to a special guest. Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamed, talk about how fortunate they were to be studying abroad.

When the prime minister finished, a Malaysian graduate stood up and criticized Mr. Mahathir for the way the government had treated Anwar Ibrahim, the country's deposed, jailed and indicted deputy prime minister.

"You should step down," the graduate said, according to a journalist present in the hall. The sug-

gestion — unusually confrontational by Malaysian standards — received rousing applause.

Those students in London, who went on to challenge Mr. Mahathir on many issues, are just a small sampling of the hundreds of thousands of Malaysians

Malaysia braces for the Anwar verdict. Page 6.

who traveled abroad to study during the past two decades. Encouraged and often financed by the government, they came back as engineers, lawyers, business people and doctors.

Now, many of them are at the forefront of the movement opposing Mr. Mahathir. They are organizing and participating in demonstrations leading up to

the verdict in Mr. Anwar's trial, due Wednesday, and they manage anti-government Web sites on the Internet. (Page 6)

Malaysians educated abroad are not the only people demanding change. Mr. Anwar's supporters are a mixed group. But many of the former deputy prime minister's supporters are young and have been exposed in one way or another to the outside world.

Whether trained in Malaysia or abroad, they form the outlines of a generation that could strongly influence the politics of the next few years — no matter what happens to Mr. Anwar.

"Malaysian politics will never be the same again," said Rustam Sani, a sociology professor and former

See MALAYSIA, Page 6

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. and Russia 'Narrow Differences' on a Common Approach to Kosovo

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Service

OSLO — The United States and Russia achieved some progress Tuesday toward a common approach in resolving the Kosovo crisis but failed to agree on the key issue of an international military presence that would ensure the withdrawal of Serbian forces and the return of refugees.

In the first high-level meeting between Washington and Moscow since NATO started bombing Yugoslavia, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and the Russian foreign minister, Igor Ivanov, said they had managed to "narrow their differences" over what should be done to stop the Serbian persecution of ethnic Albanians and to bring an end to the air strikes.

Mrs. Albright and other allied foreign ministers agreed Monday that Russia should be encouraged to play a leading mediator's role by exercising its traditional influence with Belgrade to help find a solution to the conflict. Russia broke off contacts with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization when the air strikes began March 24, and Mrs. Albright flew here Tuesday on a

mission she described as coaxing Russia "closer to the mainstream of international opinion."

After more than three hours of discussion, Mrs. Albright told reporters, "We have reached agreement on many of the basic principles that must be respected in any resolution of the crisis in Kosovo."

She said these included an immediate and verifiable end to violence and oppression in Kosovo, the withdrawal of Serbian military police and paramilitary forces, and the safe return of all displaced persons regardless of ethnic or religious background.

Russia has harshly criticized NATO's bombing attacks on a sovereign state in the absence of any United Nations authority. Moscow has also remained silent in the face of the brutal crackdown by Serbian forces that has driven more than 1 million ethnic Albanians from their homes.

Mr. Ivanov said that while Russia deplored violence "in all forms" now occurring within Yugoslavia, the most important requirement for a cease-fire was for NATO to stop the bombing so Serbian forces could be withdrawn and refugees could be repatriated. But Mrs. Albright argued that

the Serbs must make the first move because it was their "ethnic cleansing" campaign, and not the air strikes, that drove the refugees from their homes.

"The plans were in place for many months," Mrs. Albright said. "It was necessary for NATO to take action in order to prevent even greater violence and instability in the region."

Despite the polemics, U.S. officials said they were pleased by Mr. Ivanov's moderate tone and Moscow's apparent desire to break out of its current isolation, seize the opportunity to play a peacemaking role in the Balkans and rebuild bridges with the West. Mrs. Albright and Mr. Ivanov agreed to keep in close touch over Kosovo developments, but they set no date for their next meeting.

"We must continue this dialogue, because the faster we can get out of this cul-de-sac the better it will be for the Balkans and the rest of the world," Mr. Ivanov said. He emphasized the need to contain any damage to relations with the United States, citing the importance of cooperation in dealing with Iraq, the Middle East peace process and halting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Mr. Ivanov and Mrs. Albright did not try to hide their differences over the character of an international peacekeeping force, which the United States and its allies believe is essential to guarantee the safety of ethnic Albanian refugees and ensure the removal of Serbian police forces accused of waging a "scorched earth" offensive.

Mr. Ivanov said a foreign peacekeeping force on the territory of a sovereign state that disapproves of its presence "remains one of the most complicated issues" blocking a solution to the crisis.

He said that since Belgrade had rejected any NATO occupation force, there should be further discussion about "acceptable forms of an international presence" that might be sponsored by the United Nations or the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The NATO allies have backed away from their original call that NATO troops should supervise a cease-fire and interim peace settlement and now say that an "international military presence," modeled on the Bosnia peacekeeping force that involves NATO members and more

than a dozen other countries, would be acceptable. That formulation leaves open the door for participation by Russian troops, who operate in Bosnia under U.S. command but not under NATO.

But Mrs. Albright said the United States still believed that NATO troops must serve as "the core" of any peacekeeping operation and that other countries, including Russia, should work in coordination with the alliance's integrated military command.

Fischer Sees Progress in Oslo Talks

Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer of Germany said the U.S.-Russian talks in Oslo on Tuesday had gone some way toward resolving Western differences with Moscow over Yugoslavia but he refused to comment on whether a broader meeting would go ahead. Reuters reported from Bonn.

Mr. Fischer, whose government holds the rotating presidencies of both the European Union and the Group of Eight industrial powers, which includes Russia, has been pushing for a meeting of G8 foreign ministers to coordinate a peace plan with Moscow.

With Eye on Voting Bloc, Netanyahu Courts Russia

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Service

JERUSALEM — A sixth of the Israeli electorate — approximately 680,000 voters — speaks Russian, but Yehuda Primakov is not one of them. Still, that did not stop him from offering the following political endorsement at a Moscow luncheon last month:

"I don't really want to interfere in Israeli politics," said the Russian prime minister, smiling broadly at his honored guest, "but if I were an Israeli citizen, I'd vote for Mr. Netanyahu in these coming elections."

Benjamin Netanyahu, the incumbent Israeli prime minister, has received his share of endorsements in his re-election campaign ahead of May 17 elections, but perhaps none was so useful as Mr. Primakov's.

Thrilled with the Russian's remark, Mr. Netanyahu's entourage disclosed it to the media even before the two leaders had finished their dessert. Israeli newspapers reported.

That chummy episode in Moscow came as Mr. Netanyahu and his top Israeli political strategist, Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, began a campaign aimed at establishing warmer relations with Moscow.

Last week, Mr. Netanyahu urged the International Monetary Fund to approve a \$4.8 billion loan to Russia. This week, Mr. Sharon made his third visit to Moscow in the last few months. Next week the Russian foreign minister, Igor Ivanov, is scheduled to pay a return visit to Israel.

Ostensibly, the idea is to gain the Russians' friendship to chip away at a number of problems the Israelis consider deeply worrisome. They include allegations of Russian technology leaks to Iran's long-range missile and nuclear programs and Russian sales of tanks, air-defense systems and warplanes to Syria.

But Mr. Netanyahu's opponents, and a number of Israeli analysts, see another reason for the policy tilt to Russia: the impending elections. In Israeli politics, where national elections are always close, every voting bloc counts. And the huge Russian vote is a special prize.

Mr. Sharon, in an interview last week with William Safire of The New York Times, acknowledged as much.

"Two-thirds of the Russian Israelis are for Bibi Netanyahu, now," he said. "If I can get that up over 70 percent, that's it."

That may help explain Mr. Sharon's sudden enthusiasm for playing the Russian card. Most Russian Israelis have arrived in the last decade, and many are nostalgic for their homeland and still identify with it, despite its extensive problems.

And although a large majority of the Israeli public has condemned the "ethnic cleansing" in Kosovo and supports the air strikes by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, many Russian immigrants share the view of their former countrymen that the Western bombard-

ment is criminal. Not to be outdone, the Labor Party, the main opposition party, also is scrambling for the Russian vote, with a huge telephone canvassing operation and follow-up mailings to Russian-speaking households from the party's candidate, Ehud Barak, a former general.

But the confluence of foreign policy and electioneering has struck a sour chord with some Israelis.

Mr. Netanyahu "has only disdain for new immigrants," the immigrant absorption minister, Yuli Edelstein, a member of the Russian immigrant party Israel B'Aliyah, said in an interview with Israeli radio, "and then suddenly, before the elections, he's turned pro-Russian."

Israeli newspapers also have reported that Defense Minister Moshe Arens and others in the Israeli security establishment see the cozying-up to Russia as a mistake that will hurt relations with the United States, Israel's main benefactor.

Mr. Sharon contends that the initiative has nothing to do with electoral politics. "We have to understand that Russia is returning to the Middle East and that Israel has a chance to build a new relationship with Russia," he said.

He added that American efforts to stop Russian technology from reaching Iran's missile program had been unavailing.

Also, there may be an economic payoff for Israel in the form of Russian contracts for Israeli defense manufacturers.

There is some irony in Israel's courtship of Mr. Primakov. The Russian leader speaks Arabic and has been on good terms for years with one of the Jewish state's most hated enemies, Saddam Hussein of Iraq, among other Arab adversaries of Israel.

Perhaps, then, it was no surprise that Mr. Primakov's press secretary rushed to contain the damage when he learned that her boss's endorsement of Mr. Netanyahu had been disclosed.

Mr. Primakov is fond of jokes, said the press secretary, Tatiana Aristarkhova, and he was only kidding.

Pakistani Leader Goes to Brink of Missile Threat

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LAHORE, Pakistan — Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif of Pakistan said Tuesday that India's test of an intermediate-range missile this week would accelerate an arms race, but he stopped short of saying Pakistan would match it.

"India's test of a missile will increase the arms race in the area, and it will cause a threat to the security of the region," Mr. Sharif said in the Punjab capital, Lahore.

Pakistan has "every right to defend itself," Mr. Sharif said, adding, "We are not ignorant about our defense requirements." But he stopped short of saying that he would authorize a test of one of Pakistan's missiles in response.



IN MEMORY — Israeli motorists standing at attention by their cars in Tel Aviv during a two-minute siren Tuesday marking Holocaust Remembrance Day. Throughout the country, all public activity was halted.

Sinn Fein Rejects British-Irish Proposal

By Warren Hoge
New York Times Service

LONDON — Sinn Fein said at peace talks Tuesday in Belfast that it was rejecting a proposal put forward by the British and Irish governments to resolve the impasse on guerrilla disarmament that is blocking the formation of a new government in Northern Ireland.

The announcement by Mitchell McLaughlin, chairman of the party, which is the political wing of the Irish Republican Army, deepened the growing pessimism around the talks, which resumed Tuesday after a 12-day suspension during which the parties examined the two governments' framework declaration.

It also isolated Sinn Fein as the sole

outright objector among the parties to the document, including the moderate Roman Catholic Social Democratic and Labor Party and the Dublin government that share Sinn Fein's long-term goal of unifying the predominantly Protestant North with the largely Catholic Republic of Ireland.

Talks were broken off inconclusively April 1 on the eve of a Good Friday deadline when even the around-the-clock presence of the British and Irish prime ministers, Tony Blair and Bertie Ahern, failed to bring about an understanding.

The accord promising the return of home rule to Northern Ireland and an end to three decades of sectarian violence was reached on Good Friday a year ago, and there is growing urgency to put the full settlement into effect because of the

imminence of the most politically volatile period in the province's life: the Protestant Orange Order marching season that has in recent years sparked provincewide violence.

At issue is a demand by the Ulster Unionists, a Protestant party that is the province's largest, that the IRA make a "credible start" at disarming, or "decommissioning" in the parlance of the negotiations, before Sinn Fein will be permitted to occupy the two seats it is entitled to in the executive of the new power-sharing Northern Ireland Assembly. The legislature was the centerpiece of the Good Friday agreement and becomes effective only upon the transfer of home-rule powers to it from the British Parliament in London. That defining move in turn awaits the creation of the executive.

The original accord set no obligation for decommissioning before the assembly and other governmental bodies were to be set up, and Sinn Fein is adamant that it will not allow such a "precondition" to be created now. It has said repeatedly that it cannot "deliver" such action from the IRA anyway. The party points out further that it has met all the demands set out in the accord and that the vote it attracted in the June elections to the new body gives it an absolute right to the two cabinet seats.

At the end of the marathon talks at Hillsborough Castle on April 1, the two prime ministers brought forth their document that painstakingly sought to marry the two antagonistic positions. Instead of a "precondition," decommissioning would be only an "obligation" and a "voluntary" one at that. Guns would not actually be "decommissioned," they would be "put beyond use."

U.S. Calls for Restraint

The State Department expressed regret Monday over India's missile test and urged Pakistan to show restraint and not to test in response. The Associated Press reported from Washington.

James Foley, a State Department spokesman, noted that India has said it wants to avoid a nuclear and missile race and to meet its security requirements at the lowest possible levels.

"We hope that India will provide tangible indications that it is prepared to practice restraint consistent with its declared intentions," Mr. Foley said.

In Tunnel Fire, French Suspect Ventilation Duct

The Associated Press

PARIS — A ventilation duct left in the wrong position by Italian authorities may have aggravated the devastating blaze in the Mont Blanc tunnel that killed at least 41 people last month, investigators said Tuesday.

An interim report by French technical experts found that the alarm system and rescue procedures worked properly in the 12-kilometer (7-mile) tunnel that links France and Italy.

But it also found that security precautions should have been improved a long time ago and that a lack of coordination between the French and Italians had compromised those measures.

Investigators said it was not yet clear how much of an impact the duct error had, but that it could be an important factor. The blaze, which broke out March 24 on a Belgian truck, raged for two days in the tunnel under the highest

peak in Europe.

A French official said that the problem appeared to have been caused by human error but that the French would await Italy's own inquiry.

The investigators said the French and the Italians each controlled a reversible duct with the capacity to blow cold air into the tunnel or to suck smoke out of it.

The French put their duct, which runs until about the midway point of the tunnel, into "maximum extraction position" at 10:56 A.M., three minutes after fire broke out. But the Italians left their duct in the blowing position, the French investigators said.

MEMORIAL SERVICE

THOMAS HENRY DOLAN
Tommy left us a month ago. Rest. Rest in Peace. We will be with you as long as you wish.

WEATHER

Forecast for Thursday through Saturday, as provided by AccuWeather.

Europe	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Algeria	22/21	10/9	16/11	23/22	11/10	17/12
Andorra	22/21	10/9	16/11	23/22	11/10	17/12
Austria	14/12	2/1	10/9	15/14	3/2	11/10
Belgium	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Bulgaria	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Croatia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Czech Rep.	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Denmark	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Estonia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Finland	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
France	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Germany	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Greece	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Hungary	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Ireland	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Italy	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Latvia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Lithuania	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Malta	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Netherlands	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Norway	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Poland	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Portugal	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Romania	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Russia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Slovakia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Slovenia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Spain	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Sweden	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Switzerland	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Turkey	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Ukraine	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
United Kingdom	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
USA	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9

North America	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Alaska	22/21	10/9	16/11	23/22	11/10	17/12
Arizona	22/21	10/9	16/11	23/22	11/10	17/12
Arkansas	14/12	2/1	10/9	15/14	3/2	11/10
California	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Colorado	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Connecticut	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Delaware	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
District of Columbia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Florida	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Georgia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Hawaii	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Idaho	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Illinois	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Indiana	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Iowa	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Kansas	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Kentucky	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Louisiana	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Maine	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Maryland	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Massachusetts	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Michigan	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Minnesota	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Mississippi	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Missouri	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Montana	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Nebraska	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Nevada	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
New Hampshire	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
New Jersey	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
New Mexico	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
New York	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
North Carolina	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
North Dakota	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Ohio	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Oklahoma	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Oregon	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Pennsylvania	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Rhode Island	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
South Carolina	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
South Dakota	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Tennessee	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Texas	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Vermont	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Virginia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Washington	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
West Virginia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Wisconsin	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Wyoming	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9

Asia	Today	Low	High	Tomorrow	Low	High
Algeria	22/21	10/9	16/11	23/22	11/10	17/12
Andorra	22/21	10/9	16/11	23/22	11/10	17/12
Austria	14/12	2/1	10/9	15/14	3/2	11/10
Belgium	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Bulgaria	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Croatia	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Czech Rep.	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9
Denmark	13/12	1/0	9/8	14/13	2/1	10/9

THE AMERICAS

Energy Aide Blames Bosses for Lax Nuclear Security

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The Department of Energy official who pressed hardest for action against alleged Chinese spying at nuclear laboratories has declared that his superiors at the department, rather than the White House under President Bill Clinton, blocked his efforts to tighten security and have a suspect lab employee lose access to secret material.

The statement Monday from Norma Trulock in testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee was viewed as a significant element in a persistent and partisan Washington battle over charges that the Clinton administration was slow to react to warnings from 1996 to 1998 that China might have been obtain-

ing secrets from the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico.

Since the allegations became public last year, some members of Congress have blamed the White House for not taking quicker action when officials were told of possible espionage by the laboratory employee, and of lax security at Los Alamos and other nuclear weapons installations.

But Mr. Trulock, the department's former acting head of intelligence, said President Clinton, in a decision paper in February 1998, adopted reforms that top department officials opposed. The most controversial elements, he said, were creation of independent offices in the department for intelligence and counterintelligence, giving the offices more power through direct ac-

cess to the secretary of energy and giving them control over security at all department facilities.

Those opposing the reforms, Mr. Trulock said, were Deputy Energy Secretary Elizabeth Moler and an assistant secretary, along with his deputy, who were directly in charge of weapons research.

Mrs. Moler, who became acting secretary in 1998 until Bill Richardson was appointed secretary, appeared at the hearing later and vehemently denied Mr. Trulock's version of events. She called herself "an enthusiastic supporter of taking aggressive action" to protect nuclear secrets at the department's research facilities.

Mr. Trulock, in his testimony, criticized the officials in particular for failing in 1997 to remove Wen Ho Lee, the suspect Los Alamos

employee, from access to classified materials, even after the FBI director, Louis Freeh, twice said there was no further need to keep him on his classified job as a way to catch him in the act.

"For another 14 months after these warnings," Mr. Trulock told the senators, there was continued access to classified information. "I am not sure that we will ever know how much damage has been done to U.S. national security as a result of this inaction."

He also accused department officials of trying to bury his findings of possible espionage, in order to protect the budgets of the laboratories and to safeguard relations with laboratories in Russia and China. But Mr. Trulock's toughest criticism was leveled against the laboratories themselves, some of which are op-

erated for the department by the University of California.

His experience, he said, raises questions about the "credibility of the laboratories."

"They respond with vague and evasive answers and they occasionally lie in response to our legitimate inquiries," he said.

Mr. Trulock questioned whether reforms in the president's directive will be carried out, saying many of the people who blocked his efforts were still in important positions.

His remarks drew a rejoinder from Edward Curran, a former FBI agent who now heads Department of Energy counterintelligence.

Mr. Curran said that 80 percent of the recommendations in Mr. Clinton's directive "have already been implemented and I am looking forward to proceeding with the rest."

CLINTON: After Impeachment, Facing a Contempt Ruling

Continued from Page 1

president in contempt of court."

"The record demonstrates by clear and convincing evidence that the president responded to plaintiffs' questions by giving false, misleading and evasive answers that were designed to obstruct the judicial process," the ruling said.

Judge Wright said she tried to treat Mr. Clinton as she would any other defendant in a civil proceeding.

"In that regard," she wrote, "there simply is no escaping the fact that the president deliberately violated this court's discovery orders and thereby undermined the integrity of the judicial system."

"Sanctions must be imposed, not only to redress the president's misconduct, but to deter others who might themselves consider emulating the president of the United States by engaging in misconduct that undermines the integrity of the

judicial system."

White House lawyers and the president's personal lawyer said they would not comment on the ruling until they had a chance to read it.

But a member of the president's legal team said it might not be in the president's legal, political or financial interest to challenge the contempt citation. To do so would involve several months of motions and hearings that would keep the matter alive in the news media and cost thousands of dollars in additional legal fees.

But the president and his advisers have not yet decided what to do, the lawyer said.

No other president has ever been held in civil contempt, and it is rare for high government officials to be faced with such charges.

The ruling Monday came on the same day as the verdict in the criminal contempt trial of Susan Mc-

Dougal, a former Arkansas business partner of the Clintons'. A federal jury acquitted Mrs. McDougal of obstructing justice but deadlocked on two counts of criminal contempt, and the judge, George Howard Jr., declared a mistrial on those charges.

Although the jury's action was a mixed result, it amounted to a setback for Kenneth Starr, the special prosecutor, who Mrs. McDougal argued was out to get the president. Mr. Starr brought the criminal case against her after she had served 18 months in jail for civil contempt for refusing to cooperate with his investigators and for not answering questions put to her on two occasions by a grand jury.

In the Clinton contempt case, Stephen Saltzburg, a professor of criminal law and procedure at George Washington University Law School in Washington, said parties to lawsuits were seldom held in civil contempt for false testimony. More commonly, people are fined for violations of court discovery rules.

The fact that Judge Wright formally cited the president for contempt, Mr. Saltzburg said, "suggests that the violation is probably clearer and more reprehensible than some."

"I think she wanted to make it clear that the president flouted the dignity of the court and insulted the court," Mr. Saltzburg added.

On Aug. 17, Mr. Clinton appeared by videotape before a federal grand jury and admitted that he had had a sexual relationship with Ms.



Judge Susan Webber Wright, who presided over the Clinton case.

Lewinsky over a 21-month period from late 1995 through early 1997.

The president directly contradicted his deposition testimony by acknowledging "inappropriate intimate contact" with Ms. Lewinsky on numerous occasions. Judge Wright said in the ruling Monday, referring to his grand jury testimony.

The judge said that she first learned that Mr. Clinton had given false testimony in the Jones suit when Mr. Clinton went on television that night to admit to having given "misleading" answers to Ms. Jones's lawyers.

"It was during the president's televised address that the court first learned the president may be in contempt," Judge Wright said.

She revealed that she was considering citing Mr. Clinton for con-

tempt in a footnote to an order in September. She waited until now to act, she said Monday, because she did not want to interfere with the continuing criminal investigation and the congressional impeachment inquiry and trial.

Judge Wright also made several references to other "contumacious" conduct by the president, which she said she chose not to address in the interest of bringing the matter to a reasonably swift conclusion.

She specifically cited Mr. Clinton's violation of her order not to discuss his deposition testimony with anyone outside his legal team.

She noted that a day after giving testimony, Mr. Clinton summoned his private secretary, Betty Currie, to the White House to review his testimony with her.

POLITICAL NOTES

Clintons Release Tax Return

WASHINGTON — Bill and Hillary Clinton earned \$504,109 last year, including more than \$275,000 in capital gains and business income, and paid \$89,951 in federal taxes.

The president and his wife released their tax return Tuesday, two days before the Thursday filing deadline. Their withholdings over the year exceeded their tax bill by \$4,267, and they chose to have that amount applied to their 1999 tax bill rather than receive a refund.

Their 1998 return closely mirrored their 1997 return. They reported \$569,511 in adjusted gross income for 1997, and they paid \$91,964 in federal taxes.

Separately, Vice President Al Gore and his wife, Tipper, released their tax forms, showing they paid \$52,951 in federal taxes for 1998 on adjusted gross income of \$224,132.

After being criticized for giving only \$353 to charity in 1997, the Gores reported giving \$15,197 in 1998, mostly to groups that support the homeless, the mentally ill and religious and educational organizations.

The Clintons' income sources included \$200,000 from his salary as president, \$16,665 in interest, \$16,736 in dividends, \$1,329 in taxable refunds or credits, \$74,289 in business income and \$200,318 in capital gains.

The Clintons took a \$161,938 deduction for charitable gifts, including \$99,220 for gifts in 1998 and \$62,718 in gifts carried over from the previous year.

The \$74,289 in business income came from profits generated by books written by Hillary Clinton, Joe Lockhart, the White House press secretary, said that all book income, minus taxes and administrative expenses, would be donated to charity. The first family received \$53,462 in short-term capital gains and \$146,856 in long-term capital gains — both from Pell Rudman Trust Co., which holds a private trust for the Clintons. (AP)

Giuliani Looks for Financing

NEW YORK — Mayor Rudolph Giuliani has set up a committee to finance a possible run for the Senate from New York next year, as aides to Hillary Rodham Clinton, also a potential candidate for the seat, announced that she would spend three days traveling in the state next week.

Mr. Giuliani's decision to register a reconfigured Friends of Giuliani Committee with the Federal Election Commission, with the express purpose of raising money for a Senate race, was the latest indication that the Republican mayor is close to a decision on his next political move. (NYT)

Away From Politics

• All meat and poultry products made at a Thorn Apple Valley plant in Arkansas were tainted and unfit for human consumption, the Agriculture Department said Tuesday, including some exported to South Korea and Russia. (Reuters)

• Trappers have caught what they think is the last of the beavers that have been chowing down on cherry trees at the Tidal Basin in Washington. Park Service rangers will re-

locate the three suspects to a secret spot where they will be encouraged to reunite as a nuclear family, this time with an appetite for, say, pine. (AP)

• Health officials are investigating four recent hantavirus cases in New Mexico, including two that were fatal. Scientists say the virus is spread in airborne particles of rodent waste, in New Mexico mainly from the deer mouse, and can quickly cause serious respiratory problems. (AP)

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The Battle for Kosovo / 130 Tractors Pulled Wagonloads of Fleeing Villagers

As the Exodus Continues, Pristina Air Strike Kills 3 in a Civilian Car

By Paul Watson
Los Angeles Times Service

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia — A NATO air strike, part of the heaviest daytime raid yet on the capital of Kosovo, sprayed burning shrapnel through a car driving along a main street in Pristina, killing three men and seriously wounding a fourth.

Even though the day was mostly cloudy, two powerful blasts shook Pristina around 10 A.M. Monday. Two much heavier explosions struck the city at 2:25 P.M., followed by two more that hit Pristina's already devastated army barracks and the adjacent four-lane road.

One explosion knocked out a power station, leaving most of the city without electricity. As planes roared overhead, hundreds of ethnic Albanians about 20 kilometers (13 miles) south-west of Pristina were fleeing in a convoy of about 130 tractors pulling wagonloads of villagers. In Pristina, just minutes after a missile exploded Monday afternoon near a blue Ford Escort, journalists saw one of the dead in the rear passenger seat with a hole the size of a fist in the back of his head.

He was wearing a camouflaged police uniform. Several police officers wept and hugged each other after loading his body into the back of a white van, which delivered the corpse to the morgue.

A police officer at the scene, across the busy street from the main army barracks, insisted that the victims in the two-door car were all civilians. Whether they were or not, it appeared that anyone in a civilian car might wonder if they, too, could be at risk.

Pieces of what the Yugoslav Army identified as a North Atlantic Treaty Organization missile lay in front of the car where it veered off King Peter I Street, the main route south from Pristina's center.

The remnants included several coils, a scorched canister and what looked like a small motor blade. Flying shrapnel gouged large divets in the asphalt, creating a spray pattern that spread out from the car.

In the countryside, where more ethnic Albanians were heading toward the border, some tractors also were towing cars with Pristina license plates. They were hitched by rope to wag-

ons covered with plastic tarps to keep the refugees and their few belongings warm and dry.

Several kilometers farther down the road about 50 tractors and cars were leading the way south-west toward the Albanian border.

Although some of the refugees were young men, most were women, children and the elderly, and as they moved slowly down the road, villages were burning far off on the horizon, in several directions.

When a foreign journalist tried to ask where the refugees were coming from and why, a Yugoslav Army officer stopped on the roadside, backed up by an armored vehicle carrying several soldiers in black masks.

As one of them panned a turret-mounted machine gun slowly back and forth at the passing column of refugees, the officer checked the journalists' papers and then ordered them to leave.

As they drove on toward Djakovica, a town about 110 kilometers southwest of Pristina near the Albanian border, the journalists passed two houses freshly burning beside the road. A police officer in camouflage fatigues strolled nearby,

his AK-47 assault rifle pointing at the ground and swinging lazily at his side.

The trip to Djakovica was approved but not escorted by government officials.

Reporters also saw an armored vehicle destroyed on the roadside near a civilian car that ended up in a ditch.

But apart from a few soldiers and police officers, the central Drenica region of Kosovo was empty of people. Less than two months ago, it was the stronghold of the separatist Kosovo Liberation Army.

Packs of dogs and wandering farm animals were all that was left of village life. At Dolac, where the route turns south to Djakovica, five horses lay dead in the middle of the road, where they had been shot.

Just outside Djakovica, dense black and gray smoke poured from houses burning in at least two villages. The city itself was quiet, and almost empty except for soldiers and police officers on patrol and standing guard outside such key buildings as the post office and telephone exchange.

At NATO's daily briefings in Brussels,

Djakovica has been named as the site of a possible "rape camp," where ethnic Albanian women have allegedly been sexually abused by Serbian security forces.

In a city under tight military control, it was impossible to investigate the claims.

Other reports have described Djakovica as a destroyed city, which is far from true. Although several shops have been looted, arsonists and thieves have done less damage to Djakovica than to Pristina, or worse, the northern town of Podujevo, where large parts of town have been razed by fires.

At its briefing Sunday, NATO showed grainy aerial photographs of what it said might be a mass grave in a village that the alliance identified as Pusto Selo.

When journalists in Pristina asked for permission to visit Pusto Selo and see for themselves whether what appeared to be a long covered trench in the NATO pictures was a mass grave, a local official was baffled. After searching for Pusto Selo on a detailed map, he said he could not find it, and then pointed out that in Serbian the name means deserted village.

Clinton Meets Leaders Of Congress on Kosovo

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — President Bill Clinton expressed new determination to "persist until we prevail" in Kosovo, after an apparently successful meeting Tuesday to firm up support among legislators. But there was confusion afterward as to whether he had hinted at a greater openness to considering the use of ground troops.

Mr. Clinton met with 58 members of Congress, all key members of the armed

services, international relations and appropriations committees. One Democratic senator called the session "a very thoughtful and healthy bipartisan exchange."

The president had received an important boost earlier when top congressional leaders said they would try to avoid, at least this week, any potentially divisive votes on the Kosovo conflict. The administration has sought to avoid giving Belgrade any sign that U.S. opinion is divided or that U.S. determination might be faltering.

But there was stark confusion after the meeting as to whether Mr. Clinton was signaling a shift on using ground troops. "The president said that it's not on the table," said Senator John Kerry, Democrat of Massachusetts. "But he did say that nothing was off the table — and we must achieve our goal."

Others at the meeting said they had a similar understanding of Mr. Clinton's comments.

But Joe Lockhart, the White House press secretary, sought later to quash the confusion. He repeated earlier assertions that Mr. Clinton "has no intention of introducing ground troops" and was "highly confident" that airpower alone would prevail.

A Republican who attended the meeting, Senator Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, said afterward that he believed that the air campaign would continue "indefinitely."

There appears to be a growing bilateral movement in Congress to support the ground-troop option, or at least to make clear it has not been ruled out.

The Clinton administration, aware of the need to maintain alliance unity and public support, has insisted that airpower will suffice.

But with the Pentagon preparing to grant a NATO request for more than 300 additional U.S. warplanes, and estimates of the cost of the operation now reaching from \$3 billion to \$8 billion — a range mentioned by Mr. Kerry — debate in Congress, and among the public, might be difficult to contain.

Meanwhile, Representative Tom Campbell, a California Republican and member of the House International Relations Committee, said that the House would be forced to vote in the next few weeks on whether to formally declare war on Yugoslavia or withdraw U.S. troops.

Belarus and Russia Bar Yugoslav Link

Reuters

MINSK — Senior officials from Belarus and Russia on Tuesday ruled out permitting Yugoslavia to join their loose union until conflict in the Balkans ends.

A day before the Belarus president, Alexander Lukashenko, is due to set off for Belgrade, the officials said that they strongly opposed North Atlantic Treaty Organization bombing in Yugoslavia, but that their support for that country, with which they share ethnic and religious ties, fell short of including it in their loose union.

"Without a doubt, while warlike action goes on, extreme decisions cannot be made," the first deputy prime minister of Belarus, Vasil Dolgolev, said at a news conference after a meeting of the Russia-Belarus coordinating body on union. He confirmed that he considered union with Yugoslavia an "extreme decision."

The Yugoslav Parliament voted overwhelmingly Monday in favor of joining the union, which commits Belarus and Russia to deeper economic and political cooperation but calls for them to remain sovereign states.

Russia has said it favors the idea of Yugoslavia joining the union, but has backed away from naming a date.

Mr. Lukashenko is expected to meet Wednesday with President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia.



Albanians and Kosovars scrambling Tuesday after grabbing food and other items from a U.S. Navy helicopter.

KOSOVO: Serbs Said to Enter Albania, Burn Houses and Leave

Continued from Page 1

damaging refineries, tanks and artillery and destroying half of Yugoslavia's MIG-29 fighters.

Some Western observers in Albania said Tuesday that the Serbian troop incursion was a limited operation and denied that there had been any resistance by Albanian forces. There were no reports of casualties.

The village is in the remote northern district of Trojope, the scene of cross-border shelling for several days that drove residents from the area before the incursion.

The Albanian interior minister, Petro Koci, said that about 100 Serbian troops advanced a short distance into the district of Trojope and surrounded the Kamencia border post and hamlet before being driven back.

Mrs. Albright said NATO was checking the report of the raid and added that the alliance "would consider with the utmost seriousness any attempt by the Serbs to act beyond their borders."

"What we intend to do is to continue and strengthen and intensify the air cam-

paign," General Clark said, adding that President Slobodan Milosevic had been willing to accept higher levels of damage than NATO had anticipated. Officials said some of the extra planes could be used to hunt Yugoslav armor in Kosovo, a task that General Clark said is "high-risk, difficult and slow" but effective.

Hopes for a political solution were likely to shift to Brussels on Wednesday, when European Union leaders are scheduled to meet with the secretary-general of the United Nations, Kofi Annan.

Mr. Annan said Tuesday that the reports Serbian soldiers had crossed into northern Albania were extremely serious and showed a need to find a rapid solution to the crisis.

"I have also heard the reports, I know the Yugoslavs have denied it, but if indeed the allegations are correct then it is extremely serious because the last thing we need is for the conflict to spread to neighboring countries," Mr. Annan said during a visit to Spain.

International monitors, meanwhile, said more than 3,000 Kosovo refugees streamed into Albania early Tuesday.

Hundreds also crossed into Macedonia, the biggest group to arrive since Yugoslavia closed its borders last week.

In London, Foreign Secretary Robin Cook alleged that Serbian forces were systematically raping ethnic Albanian women at an army camp in southern Kosovo.

"We are now getting a pattern of repeated reports" that young women were "separated from the refugee columns and forced to endure systematic rape in an army camp at Djakovica, near the Albanian border," Mr. Cook said at a news conference.

Mr. Cook, echoing a statement by NATO foreign ministers on Monday, said air strikes would continue until President Milosevic bowed to alliance demands that pulled all his troops out of Kosovo and allowed the return of refugees under the protection of an international force.

In further signs of a NATO buildup in the Balkans, Britain announced it was sending an extra 1,800 troops to Macedonia and Greece to help refugees eventually return to Kosovo, taking total British forces in the region to over 6,300. NATO has about 20,000 troops in the region.

In Washington, the Pentagon said Tuesday that it would ask Congress to authorize up to \$4 billion in emergency funds to pay for the military operation in Kosovo.

The Pentagon spokesman, Ken Bacon, said: "The number is not firm yet, but I would guess it would be in the range of \$3 billion to \$4 billion."

In an interview with the BBC, Foreign Minister Paskal Milo of Albania accused Serbia of seeking to destabilize his country, and urged "a guarantee for our sovereignty, our territorial integrity."

The United States plans to base 24 Apache attack helicopters in Albania for use against Serbian armor in Kosovo, although Washington and its NATO allies continued to rule out the direct use of ground forces in the conflict.

In Skopje, the Macedonian capital, Reuters quoted unidentified Western officials, apparently international monitors, as saying that ethnic Albanians left in Kosovo were starving and that disease was spreading.

"There is a lack of food and drinking water," an official was quoted as saying.

"Incidents of typhoid, cholera, scabies and pulmonary infections have been increasing."

Russian Aid Reaches Belgrade

A Russian aid convoy reached Belgrade on Tuesday after being delayed for two days by Hungarian border authorities, Reuters reported from Belgrade, quoting Tanjug.

Tanjung said 68 trucks had arrived in the Yugoslav capital, after a delay on the Hungarian border.

Border guards blocked the convoy, which they said initially had 73 vehicles, because it included supplies of diesel fuel and armored trucks.

Closed Radio Back on Air

Belgrade's Radio B-92 started broadcasting Tuesday under a new, state-imposed management, The Associated Press reported.

The most popular independent Belgrade radio station was shut down last month when police officers burst into premises, abruptly stopping its broadcasts.

BUILDUP: Need for Reinforcements Underscores Weaknesses of Initial NATO Plan

Continued from Page 1

battle plan has created an uncomfortably exposed position for the Clinton administration and European governments. The lack of visible progress in the war has triggered calls for ground forces from hawks and threatens to fuel pressure from European moderates for political accommodation over Kosovo.

A fundamental mistake in the Western approach, an increasing number of experts say, was the decision by President Bill Clinton and the other NATO leaders to announce at the outset that they would not use ground forces. That assured Slobodan Milosevic, the Yugoslav leader, that he would have time for a sweeping ethnic cleansing of Kosovo — on a scale that Western capitals say they never suspected possible.

"Once Milosevic heard that he was not going to face Western troops," a British official said this weekend, "it would have been natural for men with the mentality of his commanders to decide that they could take more punishment than the West was ready to dish out."

Militarily, the decision meant that NATO lost the advantage that even the threat of a combination of air and land forces would have provided. As a French official said, "Your armor and other forces on the ground pose a threat obliging the adversary to operate in strength, which exposes him to air attack."

But Serbian forces remain masters of the terrain in Kosovo. General Clark said Tuesday that some units were regrouping and others were digging bunkers to conceal their tanks and artillery, apparently hoping to ride out the air war and deter any NATO ground incursion with the threat of sharp resistance.

"Militarily and psychologically, Milosevic has made some gains, and NATO may not be able to turn the tables in time unless we can start operating more smartly," a U.S. planner said this weekend. Sympathetic to the political leaders' view that it would have been risky to order infantry into combat from the outset, he noted that NATO could have ordered crack units into position in the Adriatic. That, he said, "would have limited

Milosevic's sense of his own impunity and room for maneuver — and meant that they were right there if and when we needed them." Such an approach seems to have been adopted this week as the strength of ground forces in the area has started to climb.

The Apache helicopters heading for Albania are now said to need 4,800 U.S. soldiers — more than double the 2,000-strong contingent announced last week. In London, Prime Minister Tony Blair, while assuring Parliament that NATO had no advance inkling of Mr. Milosevic's plan to uproot most of Kosovo's population, announced Tuesday that he was ordering an additional 1,800 British troops into the region.

General Clark said Tuesday that he was sticking to an air war to destroy Serbian forces until Mr. Milosevic cedes politically, but his comments at a NATO briefing, also disclosed new tactics reflecting the lessons learned in the frustrating first three weeks of the campaign.

Reinforced by the 300 U.S. warplanes promised late Monday by the Pentagon, NATO plans to concentrate on "improving and refining our intelligence" — meaning that NATO hopes to be able to shorten the time between allied spy flights to locate Serbian targets and attacks on the targets by aircraft.

BELGRADE: 'Collateral Damage' Fuels Serbs' Anger at West

Continued from Page 1

take refuge in the air-raid shelters.

At one such shelter Monday night, on March 27 Street in the center of Belgrade, volunteers were distributing finger puppets to children who appeared to be growing ever more accustomed to the communal, underground life. For the most part, the children seemed satisfied with the simple explanations given to them by their parents for the need to seek shelter underground.

"We come here because we hear the sirens," said 4-year-old Milena, who prepared to go to bed on one of dozens of mattresses scattered across the concrete floor.

Piped up Sasha, 5: "It was frightening the first time we heard the sirens. But now I am not afraid any more. I go to the window and shout, 'Go away!'"

"I like it down here. There are lots of toys down here," said 4-year-old Dejan, clutching a Charlie Brown book in one hand and a pink finger puppet in the other.

He went to bed wearing a T-shirt with the bull's-eye target sign that has become a symbol of Serb resistance to the bombing.

Asked who was bombing them, the children replied in a chorus, "America, Clinton."

Dejan's mother, the ski instructor Katerina Radusinovic, said she had told her

son there were some "bad people" in the world who wanted to drop bombs on Yugoslavia.

A few days ago, Dejan asked her what a bomb was, and she showed him a newspaper photograph of an American Tomahawk missile.

City officials estimate that between 20 percent and 30 percent of residents have been using the underground shelters.

"Discipline has been gradually breaking down," said Milan Bozic, deputy mayor of Belgrade. "Because missiles can be fired at us from hundreds of miles away, we have very long air-raid alerts, at least 12 hours at a time. It's difficult to keep people underground for that length of time."

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EUROPE

Prodi Pledges Sweeping EU Reform

Dropping Parliament Bid, He Promises to Wipe Out Corruption

By Barry James
International Herald Tribune

BRUSSELS — The president-designate of the European Commission, Romano Prodi, pledged Tuesday to drive Europe into "a great age of reform and change" and said he would have "absolutely no tolerance" for corruption when he took office.

At the same time, the former Italian prime minister announced that he was dropping his bid to become a member of the European Parliament, saying it could conflict with his mission to radically overhaul European institutions.

Addressing Parliament in Strasbourg for the first time, he said that changes at the commission, the executive body of the 15-nation European Union, would be aimed at achieving increased efficiency, "absolute" transparency and accountability.

To applause, Mr. Prodi said he and the commissioners he would choose in collaboration with member governments "will not tolerate corruption in any form." He added, "There will be full accountability also as far as individual commissioners are concerned."

The previous commission resigned last month after an inquiry ordered by

Parliament confirmed reports of corruption and nepotism. Although the commissioners were not accused of benefiting themselves from wrongdoing, the inquiry accused them of losing political control and lacking responsibility.

The old commission is operating as a caretaker, as required by treaty. Many members of Parliament expressed concern that it could take months before a new team could replace it. Although EU leaders at their summit meeting in Berlin last month moved quickly to nominate Mr. Prodi to replace Jacques Santer as commission president, many steps remain before new commissioners take office.

These include a confirmation hearing by Parliament and delicate negotiations to select the 19 commissioners who will serve with Mr. Prodi, reflecting a balance of national and political interests. Mr. Prodi said he would insist on using the powers given the commission president under the newly ratified Amsterdam treaty to accept or reject proposals for commission members and to reorganize various departments.

Mr. Prodi was short on specifics during his address, since he was scheduled to discuss the details with heads of state and government at a special summit meeting in Brussels on Wednesday, which will

also review the Balkans conflict.

Mr. Prodi's earlier announcement that he would lead his new political grouping into European Parliament elections in June had attracted hostility in the 626-member assembly, in view of a recently adopted code of conduct that forbids commissioners from taking up any outside appointment or political post.

In announcing his decision not to run, Mr. Prodi said that it was not a bad thing for a nominated official to submit to a popular vote and that he would still defend his political beliefs. Nor, he added, was there anything in the law to prevent him from running. But he said that his candidacy could cause division. "I am not here to divide, but to unite," he said.

Mr. Prodi, who was removed as the Italian prime minister in a confidence motion in October, was chosen to head the commission because of the political and economic skills he displayed in preparing Italy for membership in the European single currency.

Addressing Parliament, he stressed the need for a timetable to enlarge the EU to take in up to 10 members in Eastern and Central Europe, plus Cyprus. The war in the Balkans makes it all the more necessary to hasten the project, he said.



Romano Prodi, right, president-designate of the European Commission, in Strasbourg on Tuesday with Jose Maria Gil Robles, the Parliament head.

BRIEFLY

Jews Seek to Delay Action on Germany

NEW YORK — The World Jewish Congress will ask U.S. state and city finance officials to delay any decision on sanctions against German banks and industries for 60 days while efforts continue to resolve Holocaust-era claims against them, an official of the Jewish group said Tuesday.

The official said that the president of the organization, Edgar Bronfman, would inform a committee of finance officials headed by the New York City comptroller, Alan Hevesi, that he was sending the group's secretary-general, Israel Singer, to Germany on Sunday to discuss plans to establish a Holocaust memorial fund. (Reuters)

Yeltsin Chides Foes On Impeachment

MOSCOW — President Boris Yeltsin criticized his foes in Parliament on Tuesday for postponing an impeachment debate against him, saying the delay was part of a strategy to keep him under constant political attack.

Mr. Yeltsin asked the Communist-dominated lower house, the State Duma, to hold the debate and vote Thursday as scheduled, or drop the motion altogether.

But factional leaders ignored Mr. Yeltsin's call. They decided Monday to put off the debate.

The Duma speaker, Gennadi Seleznyov, said it would probably be delayed several weeks. (AP)

Neolithic Cave Art Defaced in Spain

BARCELONA — Neolithic cave paintings classified as a United Nations world heritage site have been vandalized with splashes of orange spray-paint.

Spanish officials said the attack, carried out last week, was the third since 1991 on the cave outside the town of Albi in the northeast Catalonia region, the newspaper La Vanguardia said Tuesday.

One or more vandals snipped barbed wire atop a protective fence to get into the cave and attack the small, rust-colored depictions of human and animal figures. (AP)

Time to Help Kosovar Rebels? NATO Facing Hard Decision

By Craig R. Whitney
New York Times Service

PARIS — France's defense minister said Tuesday that the Serbian campaign against armed ethnically Albanian rebels in Kosovo was raising questions about whether the NATO allies should try to arm the rebel Kosovo Liberation Army.

"All the information we have indicates that the Kosovo Liberation Army has not been destroyed," Defense Minister Alain Richard said. "It's fallen back, it's been forced to regroup, but in some areas it is still as much a force as it was last Jan. 1."

But, Mr. Richard said, "We have to think hard about distributing military aid that might just ensure that Kosovo became a permanent field of battle."

"We have a political decision to make," Mr. Richard told a group of correspondents for British and American news organizations.

Some 8,000 NATO troops, including 700 French soldiers, are now being deployed to northern Albania to help deal with the crisis caused by the arrival of

several hundred thousand refugees from Kosovo in that poverty-stricken and remote area over the past three weeks.

Mr. Richard said that the allied troops might soon be in situations where they had to decide whether to turn a blind eye to Kosovo Liberation Army troops trying to infiltrate across the Albanian border to continue the fight against the Serbs there, or to prevent them from doing so.

"It is a decision we have not yet made," Mr. Richard said.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization mission in Albania is purely humanitarian, according to the allies. But Mr. Richard described the mountainous northern part of the country where most of the soldiers are to be sent as a "security vacuum," without any effective Albanian government security or police presence.

In the French view, Mr. Richard said, the Kosovo Liberation Army is a representative organization that has every right to a voice in what was to become of the province.

Kosovo Liberation Army representatives took part in the failed peace talks

at Rambouillet near Paris in February and were part of the Kosovo delegation that signed the draft accord in Paris last month.

President Slobodan Milosevic's refusal to accept that accord, or the 28,000 NATO peacekeepers that it provided, led the alliance to start bombing military targets throughout Yugoslavia on March 24.

The Rambouillet accords also provided that the Kosovo Liberation Army would be disbanded and be disarmed under the supervision of the peacekeepers as all but a few hundred Serbian Army border guards withdrew from the province.

Allied foreign ministers agreed at a meeting in Brussels on Monday that the Rambouillet agreement would still be the "basis" of a political settlement of the Kosovo crisis, but they were also exploring the possibility of imposing some kind of international administration over the province if Mr. Milosevic continued to refuse to negotiate.

Serbian television Tuesday accused NATO of putting helicopters at the service of "terrorists" from the Kosovo

Liberation Army and said allied planes had given the rebels air cover and bombing support for their operations.

Mr. Richard said that a French helicopter had evacuated a French citizen news agency identified as Franck Brucker from the Albanian border region near Padesh on Monday after he and some Kosovo Liberation Army soldiers were wounded in a Serb mortar attack on the village.

Mr. Richard said all the French military on the scene knew about him was that he was apparently French. A Reuters news agency report from Tirana said Mr. Brucker was believed to be a freelance journalist and that the French Embassy in the Albanian capital said he was not a French government employee.

■ From Paris, 16 New Warriors

Gane Pajrame had watched television footage of refugees fleeing his homeland for three weeks, anxiously searching for familiar faces. On Tuesday, the 40-year-old grocery store cashier and father of six kissed his wife good-bye, jumped into a van with 15 other ethnic Albanians and headed off to fight the Serbs. The As-

sociated Press reported from Paris.

"I don't know what to expect, but I'm not afraid to die in Kosovo," Mr. Pajrame said as he hugged his wife in front of the Paris railway station where the Kosovo Liberation Army recruits piled into two vans heading south.

"We have an obligation to go there because it's our country. I'm glad to be going home," he said.

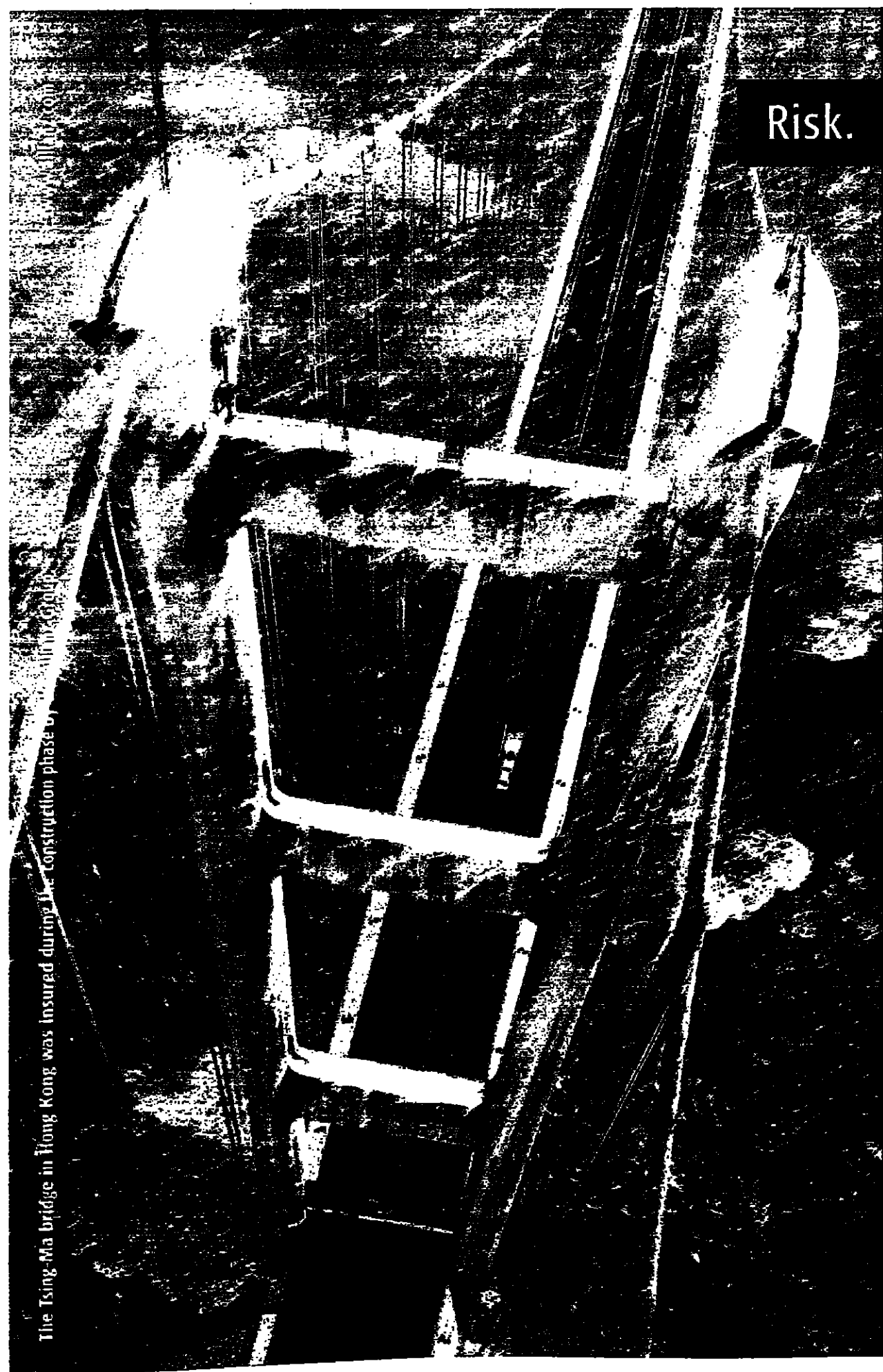
A group of about 50 family members crowded around the vans, hugging their sons, cousins and husbands, many wiping tears from their eyes.

"It's terrible for those of us left behind," said Nozife Misini, whose husband left for Kosovo last week and whose brother left Tuesday.

"We don't know if we'll see them again. They have to go, but it hurts so much to watch them."

A few of the men wore army fatigues, but most were in their street clothes. The vans were headed for Lyon, where they were to pick up more recruits before heading to the Italian port of Bari.

From there, the men were to take a boat to Albania and travel to Kosovo to join rebel camps.



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ASIA/PACIFIC

Indonesia Seeks Panel To Broker Timor Peace

Call for Cease-Fire Comes After UN Appeal

By Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — In a move to prevent violence in East Timor from spiraling out of control, the Indonesian government said Tuesday that it would set up a broadly representative commission to restore peace in the disputed territory.

"As a first step, there is a need for all parties in East Timor that are in conflict now to call a cease-fire," the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, said in Jakarta after meeting with President B.J. Habibie.

Violent clashes in the past week, including an incident in Liquicia in which as many as 57 pro-independence supporters were reported to have been shot or hacked to death as they were sheltered in a church and a priest's nearby house, have aroused intense international concern.

The attempt by Jakarta to reassert its authority in the former Portuguese colony follows a personal appeal to Mr. Habibie by the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan.

It also follows expressions of concern by countries — including the United States, the European Union, Japan and Australia — that are providing vital aid to Indonesia to help it recover from its worst recession in more than 30 years.

Mr. Annan said in Madrid on Monday that he had phoned Mr. Habibie over the weekend to encourage the Indonesian government to "take all necessary steps to contain the situation" in East Timor.

Mr. Alatas said the proposed commission would be made up of "various elements in East Timor and elements of the central government and regional government, and especially representatives of the groups that are in conflict, so that peace can be achieved."

He added that the East Timorese independence leader, Xanana Gusmao, who is under house arrest in Jakarta, would be invited to take part in the commission or send his representatives.

Mr. Gusmao could not be reached for comment. But analysts said that he was unlikely to agree to join the commission unless the Indonesian Army and police in East Timor acted to disarm pro-Jakarta militias in East Timor.

Conflict between pro-independence groups and those who want East Timor to remain part of Indonesia has intensified since Mr. Habibie reversed long-standing policy in January by holding out the possibility of independence if the territory rejected an offer of wide-ranging autonomy.

"Before that ballot can be conducted, the militias have to be disarmed, and some kind of security provided," said Sidney Jones, executive director of the Asia division of Human Rights Watch in New York. "The Indonesian Army cannot provide that security; it is hardly perceived as impartial."

Clashes between pro-independence supporters and the militias that are loyal to Jakarta and supported by Indonesian security forces, at least at the local level, reportedly left dozens dead and many more wounded in the past week since Mr. Gusmao issued a call to his followers to fight back against their attackers.

At least three officers were wounded Tuesday in a firebomb attack by pro-independence groups on a police post in Bacau, the police there said. But most of the recent casualties have reportedly been the victims of militia attacks, prompting the East Timorese spiritual leader, Bishop Carlos Belo, to suspend an initiative, backed by the Roman Catholic Church, that would promote reconciliation ahead of the planned autonomy-or-independence ballot in July.

Despite the intensifying violence between rival political groups that the army and the police seem unable or unwilling to control, Jakarta is refusing to allow even a UN civilian presence to be established on the ground in the East Timor until agreement is reached with Lisbon on details of the proposed ballot.

Final talks on this issue are to take place between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers at the United Nations next week. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, although the United Nations has never recognized the takeover.

The delay by Jakarta in approving a UN civilian presence in East Timor is increasing concern that hard-line elements in the Indonesian military, which oppose independence, are using East Timorese militia groups to stir up so much trouble that it will be impossible to guarantee the security of UN personnel and the ballot will have to be canceled.

Citing the need to prevent the conflict from derailing the vote or making it unrepresentative, Mr. Gusmao last week called on the United Nations to step in to help restore order. But UN and Australian officials have made it clear that a UN peacekeeping force cannot be sent to the disputed territory unless it is invited by Indonesia and has a peace to keep.

Mr. Annan said Monday that although the United Nations was preparing to organize a ballot, it was not in a position to play a role on the ground.



Hundreds of Indonesian students traveling in a convoy of buses to a protest at the Parliament building in Jakarta on Tuesday. The students are calling for rejection of the June 7 general elections, which will precede presidential balloting, saying the voting will be undemocratic.

MALAYSIA: Students Abroad Start to Ask Sharp Questions About Events Back Home

Continued from Page 1

newspaper columnist. "The Anwar incident was a catalyst. These people have been angry for some time. Beyond Anwar vs. Mahathir there has been a transformation of the political culture."

In the short term, the prospect that opponents of Mr. Mahathir will come to power are dim — especially if Mr. Anwar is sentenced to several years in prison, as he believes he will be. But even if Mr. Anwar is imprisoned, it seems unlikely that whoever is in power will be able to ignore this younger generation.

Mr. Anwar faces 14 years in jail or a 20,000 ringgit (\$5,260) fine, or both, on each of the four charges against him. He is accused of ordering police officers to cover up allegations of sexual indiscretion.

For Mr. Mahathir, who is the longest-serving leader in Asia, there is considerable irony that much of the opposition to his government is coming from students who went abroad.

It was he, during his 18 years as prime

minister, who encouraged Malaysians to study overseas and embrace globalization. Study science and technology in the West, Mr. Mahathir said, and your knowledge will be the motor for Malaysia's economy into the next century.

But today, in the twilight of his career, the prime minister is finding that these former students came back with more than just academic knowledge. They returned with theories about democracy, personal freedoms and human rights.

"Many of the people who are protesting Mahathir's regime are the ones who studied overseas," said Said Azman, a professor at the University of Malaya who himself studied in the United States.

"You spend four to five years in the States. You see the free press there, you turn on the TV and see debates and arguments. Students protest peacefully. So you come back here and you say, 'I want that here. I want change.'"

From Mr. Mahathir, one senses a feeling of betrayal. In London two months ago, he called the students ungrateful and said they were biting the hand that

Malaysian Troops Set For Verdict on Anwar

By Thomas Fuller
International Herald Tribune

KUALALUMPUR — Malaysian police deployed troops and water cannon Tuesday outside the courthouse where Anwar Ibrahim, the dismissed deputy prime minister, will hear the verdict Wednesday in his corruption trial.

Reacting to plans by opposition groups to hold a candlelight vigil just outside the red-brick courthouse, the police issued a statement saying that "action will be taken against anyone found to be organizing or participating in any illegal gathering in Kuala Lumpur."

The city's police chief, Kamarudin Ali, also warned against anyone carrying out "any activities that create nervousness or disturbances."

Late Tuesday, several hundred protesters burned candles and chanted pro-Anwar slogans during a peaceful vigil near a mosque behind the courthouse. Paramilitary troops with batons later dispersed the group. At least two protesters were detained.

Students have insisted that they will gather outside the courthouse Wednesday to await the verdict.

Judge Augustine Paul, who has presided over Mr. Anwar's 77-day trial, will hand down the decision alone, determining not only the course of the fallen politician's career but setting the

political climate for the next few months.

Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad must call general elections sometime before next April but could call them sooner.

If Mr. Anwar is sentenced to more than one year in prison or fined more than 2,000 ringgit (\$526), he will be disqualified from Parliament for five years from the date of his release.

The politically electrified trial, which was marked by street demonstrations late last year, has been closely watched in Malaysia, where Mr. Anwar remains a popular figure, despite his falling-out with the political establishment.

Dismissed from government by Mr. Mahathir in September, Mr. Anwar is charged with ordering police officers to cover up allegations of sodomy and adultery.

The former deputy prime minister denies the charges and claims he is the victim of a political conspiracy, an argument that the judge refused to accept as a defense.

If convicted, Mr. Anwar faces 14 years in prison or a 20,000 ringgit fine, or both, on each of the four charges against him.

Mr. Anwar also faces five charges of sodomy and one other count of obstructing justice, but it was unclear whether he would be tried for them.

fed them.

And he was livid at the suggestion that he step down.

"I will not resign unless somebody shoots me or tries to assassinate me, which maybe some people are thinking of," he said sharply. "Even if I am cursed, even if I am told that I should resign and go away, I will stay because I have a duty to perform."

The Malaysians who left to study abroad during the past two decades went, among other places, to the United States, Britain and Australia, and many of them were sponsored by the government.

Last year, there were about 50,000 Malaysians studying overseas, of whom 15,000 were on full scholarship from the government.

Last year, following Mr. Anwar's dismissal, the presence of these foreign graduates was felt during the weekly anti-government demonstrations.

To be sure, not all Malaysians who have studied or lived overseas oppose Mr. Mahathir. Far from it.

Many of the prime minister's closest

political allies are foreign-trained, including an older generation of business pioneers who form the backbone of his corporate support.

It is the younger generation of returning students who have been most active in opposing the government.

"It used to be that you could come back from overseas and become a top executive within three years," Mr. Rustam said.

"It's not as simple nowadays. This last generation is the one that is beginning to ask questions."

Wary of their influence, Mr. Mahathir has attempted to silence the dissent at its source. Since the troubles with Mr. Anwar began last year, Mr. Mahathir has admonished students to stay out of politics.

"I don't mind if students are interested in politics, but they shouldn't go to university just to become politically active," he wrote this month in a column for a Japanese newspaper.

"We spend public money to educate them. It's irresponsible to waste funds earmarked for education."

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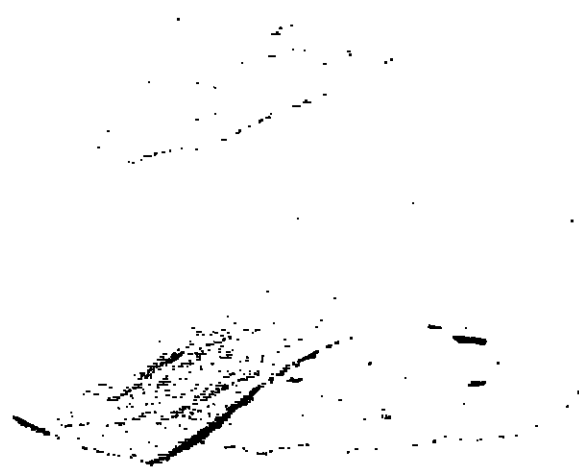
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EDITORIALS/OPINION

Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

Milosevic's Victims

Four months ago, a courageous Serbian newspaper publisher named Javko Curuvija paid a call on the Washington Post. His own newspaper had been hounded out of Serbia by Slobodan Milosevic, but Mr. Curuvija was not cowed. He was trying to publish elsewhere, and he was speaking as bravely as ever in favor of democracy and freedom of the press. Mr. Milosevic had in the past 10 years silenced everything that Serbians had accomplished in the previous 100, Mr. Curuvija said. He deplored the tyrant's wars against Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and now Kosovo, and he warned, "There are only two more wars he can start — against Montenegro, and against his own people."

On Sunday, back in his hometown of Belgrade, Mr. Curuvija became one of the first casualties of this last war he had prophesied. Two professional gunmen shot and killed him and beat Branika Tupa as the couple was returning home from an afternoon walk. The killers have not been apprehended, nor are they likely to be, because Mr. Milosevic is in fact Mr. Curuvija's true assassin. Official Serbian broadcasts and newspapers had labeled the publisher a traitor who favored NATO bombing and who would neither be "forgiven nor forgotten." After this being singled out, Mr. Curuvija had said, "Any fool now has a license to kill me."

In fact, Mr. Curuvija did not favor NATO bombing, as he made clear on his visit to Washington in December. He criticized the United States for threatening to use force. But he also faulted the West for wavering in its support of Serbian democracy and for choosing instead to negotiate with Mr. Milosevic. "Every time they deal with him, they abandon us to his mercy," he said then.

Fighting Tuberculosis

The biggest infectious killer in the world today is not AIDS or malaria, but that old devil tuberculosis. To prevent the further spread of drug-resistant tuberculosis, countries and international organizations need to invest money now in treatment everywhere. Ironically, the same antibiotics that cured tuberculosis decades ago have made it deadly again. Tuberculosis becomes drug resistant when patients receive an incomplete mix of antibiotics or stop taking their pills when the symptoms begin to subside. The World Health Organization, which found that a third of the countries it studied had resistant tuberculosis, estimates that 50 million people are infected worldwide. Drug-resistant tuberculosis is particularly common in the former Soviet Union, where medicine was widely available. But it was of poor quality and badly administered.

Today the world's most efficient tuberculosis incubators are Russian prisons. Russia imprisons 300,000 new people a year. Nearly all catch the bacillus. Most have a dormant form, which activates when their immune system slumps. A quarter of prisoners catch the deadly multidrug-resistant strain. If they have active tuberculosis, they pass the resistant strain on to the general population when they leave. Fortunately, a new treatment cures normal tuberculosis and prevents new drug resistance. The WHO calls DOTS, for Directly Observed Treatment Short-Course, the biggest health

"He can't be a guarantor of peace, he can be only a generator of crisis."

With his campaign of terror in Kosovo, Mr. Milosevic certainly has proven the latter point. As to the bombing, there is good reason to sympathize with Mr. Curuvija's point of view. Mr. Milosevic has used NATO's attack as a pretext to stamp out the last vestiges of liberty in the media and campuses of Belgrade, with Mr. Curuvija's assassination a brutal exclamation point.

But Mr. Milosevic's campaign of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, which began more than a year ago, finally left NATO no choice. "We all believe that there was no alternative anymore," said Vjosa Dobruna, a Kosovo pediatrician only recently expelled from her country. If NATO's bombing were responsible for the misery of so many Kosovars, Dr. Dobruna would have as much reason as most to complain. The Serbian police robbed her, threatened her, terrorized her in flight. At the border, Dr. Dobruna helplessly cradled a 17-day-old baby as she died of dehydration and exposure because Mr. Milosevic's forces had kept the child and her family imprisoned at a freezing railroad station, without food or drink, for many hours.

"It's awful to see old people crying because they didn't have any food for their children," Dr. Dobruna said. "And people just looking through you, sitting in the mud with dead people all around, and just sitting in the mud, with no expression in their faces. And young people, all just searching for a weapon. 'We want to go back, but we won't go back without a gun,' they say — boys, and girls, too." Those girls — like Mr. Curuvija, like the infant who died — are Mr. Milosevic's victims, too.

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

It's Time for NATO to Express Clear War Aims

By Jim Hoagland

WASHINGTON — Slobodan Milosevic caught NATO's leaders unprepared for his brutal use of Kosovo's civilians as a weapon of war. But the vicious trap he engineered is now swinging shut around the Serbian ruler himself. He has made it impossible for NATO to accept any end to the war that does not include the total removal of his control over Kosovo — now, and forever.

The refugees have gone from being a war tool for Mr. Milosevic to becoming an unanticipated war aim for NATO: The hundreds of thousands of civilians driven at gunpoint into the Kosovo wilderness and into neighboring countries must be returned, in safety, to the territory they have fled.

This is a visible, measurable, human goal. It takes precedence over the more elastic political objectives the Clinton administration expected to pursue if NATO could bomb Mr. Milosevic back to the negotiating table in France. The necessity of resettling the refugees removes the flexibility that arguing over the rules of autonomy for Kosovo would have offered the diplomats of the six-nation Contact Group.

The gates of the Fudge Factory are

swinging shut as the separate ground and air wars being waged in Kosovo escalate toward a point of no diplomatic return.

Mr. Milosevic is mining the frontiers and herding the Kosovars he has dispossessed but not exiled into position as human shields against bombing. The NATO air war concentrates on bridges, ammunition depots, factories and other buildings but not on the Serbian troops carrying out the ground war.

Public indignation over the Serbs' callously shuffling refugees into Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro and beyond enforces unity among the 19 North American and European members of NATO as the alliance expands its air armada and as discussion of using ground troops grows.

Mr. Milosevic's tactical skill in confounding NATO by uprooting 800,000 civilians comes back to haunt him. Ethnic cleansing on this grand scale ties the West's hands. It pushes NATO toward the difficult and dangerous, but perhaps unavoidable, war aim of unconditional surrender as the only appropriate

outcome to Mr. Milosevic's crimes.

It is now politically impossible for the Clinton administration to negotiate with Mr. Milosevic after his bloody betrayal of earlier agreements with Washington. That is why the White House is leaving room for an initiative from the UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, or from Russia, if either can get Mr. Milosevic to stop the killing, pull out his troops so the refugees can return and let Kosovo become a de facto international protectorate, its status to be decided later.

That idealized outcome, however, seems beyond Mr. Milosevic's reach. Having carried out the Serbian nationalist dream of emptying the hallowed territory of Kosovo of nearly half its ethnic Albanian population, how can he agree to the conditions that would let those Kosovars return? His inclination will be to ride out whatever NATO throws at him from the air and count on the alliance not having the will to send ground troops after him or his commanders.

The outlook is that the Kosovo campaign will still be unfolding when the NATO summit meeting begins in Washington on April 23, making the planned 50th anniversary celebration a council of

war. That meeting must now be turned over to the making of decisions rather than the giving of speeches.

Mr. Milosevic must be put on notice now that once the NATO meeting begins, all opportunities end for an outcome short of the unconditional surrender or the withdrawal of his forces in Kosovo. He cannot be allowed to string out the air war, looking for chances to chip at allied unity and resolve.

The alliance must resist the Serbian ruler's likely effort to push the battle of Kosovo into a fog of no-war, no-peace. Using the summit meeting as a deadline should clarify the intentions, and limit the opportunities for mischief, of would-be intermediaries.

The time for imprecision on war aims is rapidly passing. It may be useful (if morally distasteful) right now to be vague, as are Secretary of State Madeleine Albright and aides, on whether Mr. Milosevic will be pursued as a war criminal and on whether any form of partition is still possible.

To refuse to adopt and communicate clear war aims beyond the NATO summit meeting, however, would be to play into Mr. Milosevic's hands once again.

The Washington Post.

America Risks a Foreign Policy Debacle in the Balkans

By Patrick J. Buchanan

WASHINGTON — Three weeks into Bill Clinton's Balkan adventure and America risks a debacle. The human rights crisis in Kosovo has exploded into a catastrophe. Slobodan Milosevic is being rallied around like some Serbian Churchill. Montenegro and Macedonia are destabilized; Russia is being swept by anti-American jingoism; and U.S. troops may have to go marching into the Big Muddy.

Such are the fruits of Utopian crusades for global democracy. The great lesson of Vietnam was: Before you commit the army, commit the nation. President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright launched a war against Yugoslavia with the support of

our defenses to the smallest fraction of gross domestic product since before Pearl Harbor, the rhetoric has remained triumphalist, and the commitments have kept on coming.

Responsibility must be shared by Congress, for Mr. Clinton's intent to launch this Balkan war was long apparent. Yet Congress failed either to authorize war or deny the president the right to attack.

With Mr. Milosevic still defying NATO, we are admonished that "failure is not an option." The United States must do "whatever is necessary to win." Otherwise, NATO's credibility will be destroyed.

But this is mindless. If the war was a folly to begin with, surely the answer is to cut our losses and let the idiot-adventurers who urged the attack resign to write their memoirs, rather than send 100,000 U.S. troops crashing into the Balkans to save the faces and careers of our blundering strategists. After the Gallipoli disaster,

Winston Churchill went; after Suez, Anthony Eden went; after the Bay of Pigs, Allen Dulles departed the CIA. Surely, this is a wiser, more honorable, course than a ground war in Kosovo.

Moreover, Americans will not support "whatever is necessary to win." We are not going to turn Belgrade into Hamburg. As one recalls the horror at Richard Nixon's Christmas bombing that freed U.S. prisoners of war at a cost of 1,300 dead in Hanoi, all but surgical bombing is out.

And if we send in the troops, what do we "win"? The right to say that NATO defeated Serbia? The right to occupy Kosovo?

If, after we take Kosovo, the Serbs conduct a guerrilla war against our troops, and the Kosovo Liberation Army begins a war of liberation to kick NATO out, annex western Macedonia and unite with Tirana, our "victory" will have produced the very disaster

we wish to avoid. When did the Balkan peninsula become so critical to the United States that we would go to war over whose flag flew over Pristina?

"Arm the Kosovars!" urge other armchair strategists. But do we really want another Afghanistan — in the underbelly of Europe?

What a mess the interventionists have made of it. But maybe the foreign policy establishment needed a second Cold War, as anything is preferable to irrelevance.

Out of this disaster, what lessons may be learned? First, America cannot police the planet on a defense budget of 3 percent of GDP. Our dearth of air-launched cruise missiles, the need to shift carriers from the Gulf, the delay in deploying the Apaches, the calling up of the reserves — all point to a military that is dangerously inadequate to the global tasks we have added since the Cold War.

Unless America is prepared to restore Ronald Reagan's

army, navy and air force, we cannot stop a rearmored Russia in Eastern Europe, police the Balkans, roll back a second Iraqi attack on Kuwait, contain North Korea and prevent another of Beijing's bullying assaults on Taipei. Should one or two of these emergencies occur at once, we will be suddenly face to face with foreign policy bankruptcy.

America must retrench and

rearm.

What the United States needs today in the Balkans is a least-bad peace, patrolled by Europeans, where Serbs rule Serbs, Croats Croats and Albanians Albanians. And if, in the negotiations to end this tragedy, Belgrade cries, "No American troops in Kosovo!" let us insist upon it, and bring our soldiers home from Europe, as Dwight Eisenhower told John Kennedy to do nearly 40 years ago.

The writer is a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. He contributed this comment to The Washington Post.

Palestinians' Right to Statehood Deserves U.S. Support

By Henry Siegman

NEW YORK — In issuing a declaration on March 26 recognizing the "unqualified" right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including statehood, the European Union showed that it has the courage of President Bill Clinton's convictions.

There can be little doubt that Mr. Clinton, whose support for Israel and its people is unparalleled among U.S. presidents, is convinced of Palestinians' right to self-determination. Indeed, he is persuaded that a viable Palestinian state is essential to Israel's own long-range security.

Repeated statements by Mr. Clinton that the "incrementalism" of the Oslo accords no longer works and that the parties must now agree on a "purpose" and "goals" of the final-status negotiations can only be understood as calling

implicitly for recognition of the principle of Palestinian statehood. The same is true for his statement in December before the Palestinian National Council in Gaza that the U.S. supports "your aspirations."

Like the Europeans, Mr. Clinton has been urging the Palestinian leader, Yasser Arafat, to postpone a unilateral declaration of Palestinian statehood on May 4, when the five-year Israeli-Palestinian interim accord ends. But he has turned down Mr. Arafat's request that the U.S. acknowledge explicitly a Palestinian right to national independence.

Mr. Arafat is under great pressure to proceed with a declaration of Palestinian independence. Failure to do so would not only expose him, in the eyes

of many Palestinians, as weak and irresolute in the face of determined opposition to Palestinian statehood by the Israeli prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu. It also would imply that Mr. Arafat has accepted Mr. Netanyahu's claim that Palestinians have no right to national self-determination without Israel's agreement. To seem to yield to Israel on this fundamental point would be to compromise fatally the Palestinian national enterprise.

For this reason, recognition by the international community of the Palestinians' right to self-determination is critical to Mr. Arafat, for he could point to that as evidence that delaying a declaration of statehood has not damaged the Palestinian claim. To the contrary, he could argue

persuasively that it was the delay that "bought" the international recognition. Mr. Clinton's failure to follow Europe's example is therefore extremely damaging to the Palestinian cause and to Mr. Arafat's standing in the Palestinian community.

Mr. Clinton assured Mr. Arafat when he met with him last month that after the Israeli elections, he would be personally involved in pressing both parties to conclude final-status talks. He also assured Mr. Arafat that these negotiations cannot be open-ended, for otherwise those who oppose Palestinian statehood can achieve their objective by simply stonewalling the negotiations, as Mr. Netanyahu has done.

But without explicit U.S. support for a Palestinian right to self-determination, these assurances are hollow. To say that

the United States opposes open-ended negotiations is meaningless if Washington refuses to support setting a specific deadline for them.

Absent the alternative of a viable Palestinian state, Israel would be undone by demography, which would inevitably transform it from a Jewish state into a secular binational state in which Jews and Palestinians enjoy equal rights and equal citizenship. For Israel would not be able to survive for long as a Jewish state if it incorporated permanently a Palestinian population that would outnumber its Jewish inhabitants. This is certain to happen in the very near future, as Palestinians in the West Bank and in Israel already number 4 million, compared to Israel's 5 million Jews.

Palestinians would not have to accept isolated enclaves or a symbolic capital, for the West Bank and Jerusalem would become the shared patrimony of both Jews and Arabs. This historic irony is that such a loss of Israel's Jewish character is something that the settlers and their champions, Mr. Netanyahu and Foreign Minister Ariel Sharon, will have brought about. Their legacy is likely to be the end of the Zionist enterprise.

The writer, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, contributed this personal comment to the International Herald Tribune.

A Message for Starr

The decision by U.S. District Judge Susan Webber Wright holding President Bill Clinton in contempt of court was a fitting judicial response to what she termed his "false, misleading and evasive" testimony about his relationship with Monica Lewinsky in the Paula Jones sexual harassment case. The 32-page ruling on Monday puts into the legal and historical record that Mr. Clinton was untruthful and deliberately misleading, and assigns a legal sanction to uphold the rule of law.

But the financial penalties — calling for the president to reimburse the court \$1,202 to cover the expenses incurred by the judge in traveling to Washington to preside over "his tainted deposition" and to pay Mrs. Jones any expenses incurred because of Mr. Clinton's untruthful behavior — are appropriately symbolic. The president would be wise not to challenge them. The judge has signaled her

desire to bring this matter to a close.

If the independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, is smart, he will follow Judge Wright's impulse and draw the same lesson from the jury verdict in Little Rock, Arkansas. The jury acquitted Susan McDougal on charges that she obstructed Mr. Starr's Whitewater investigation even though there was no question that she had refused to testify before a grand jury and had disobeyed a court order to do so. Mrs. McDougal won her case by putting the tactics of Mr. Starr and his deputies on trial.

The verdict should send a message to Mr. Starr that it is time to bring his inquiries to a close. He should renounce any plans to pursue a retrial of Mrs. McDougal on two criminal contempt charges on which the jury deadlocked, and should expedite his final reports to the court. His investigation has reached a point of diminishing returns.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Israel Is Reckless in Cozying Up to Russia

By Thomas L. Friedman

NEW YORK — Talk about strange bedfellows. The game of footsie that Israel's prime minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, and his foreign minister, Ariel Sharon, have been playing lately with Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov of Russia, surely takes the cake.

There is nothing wrong with Israel's trying to foster better ties with Moscow in hopes of eliciting Russian cooperation in the Middle East. In fact, if done in a sophisticated, strategic fashion, it could really make sense. But to launch such an initiative, primarily in order to gain Russian votes in Israel's upcoming election and then to do it without any prior coordination with Israel's closest ally, America, is reckless.

Mr. Netanyahu's visit to Moscow last month — and Mr. Sharon's decision to tone down any criticism of the Serbs and to be restrained in his support for NATO's operation in Kosovo — appear driven by poll numbers: Russian Jews now make up 15 percent of the Israeli electorate. Mr. Netanyahu understands from his polling that he is in trouble with his traditional supporters among both Sephardic Jews and nationalist settlers. The Sharon-Netanyahu strategy is to compensate for that weakness by winning over the vast majority of Israel's new Russian immigrants.

But these are not your grandmother's Russian Jews — those who left Russia as "refuseniks" in the 1970s, with bitter memor-

ies of cossacks and commissars. These Russian Jews left the former Soviet Union freely, after the collapse of communism, and they still have some warm feelings about Mother Russia, and many business dealings. So the Israeli strategy has been to cultivate the Russian vote by cultivating the Russian government. During the prime minister's Moscow trip, word was "leaked" to Israeli reporters that Mr. Primakov said that if he were an Israeli he would vote for Mr. Netanyahu.

David Makovsky, diplomatic writer for Ha'aretz, said, "When you think of everything that Primakov represents for Israelis — we're talking about a guy who boasts that he has good chemistry with Saddam Hussein — it boggles the mind that someone would want his endorsement."

Mr. Primakov leaked his endorsement of Mr. Netanyahu the same day he departed for Washington to win U.S. backing for a new International Monetary Fund loan. Shortly after, Mr. Netanyahu personally asked the IMF to give the Russians the \$4.8 billion loan they were seeking. This after months of Israel asking the United States to suspend emergency aid to Moscow until Russia stopped selling nuclear materials to Iran.

It doesn't get much more cynical than this, one senior U.S. official said. "Just co-

incidentally a month before Israeli elections. Bibi suddenly starts chasing after the Russians."

Jewish lobbying organizations on Capitol Hill refuse to comment on Israel's Russia adventures. But at a time when these lobbyists have been trying to persuade Congress to squeeze Moscow to curtail Russian business deals with Israel's enemies, the Jewish lobbying groups are clearly upset and feeling that Israel's out-of-the-blue overture to Moscow is compromising their effectiveness.

"A high proportion of Israel's international strength derives from its close relationship with Washington," said Itamar Rabinovich, former Israeli ambassador to the United States and the author of a smart new book on Israeli-Arab relations called "Waging Peace." "But if that Israeli influence in Washington is abused, and relations are undermined, Israel will find itself with empty pockets in dealing with other parts of the world."

No wonder Israel's top military analyst, Ze'ev Schiff, wrote that "Sharon's Russia strategy, in which the U.S. decidedly plays second fiddle, infuriates Defense Minister Moshe Arens." The initiative, maintains Arens, hobbles Israel's struggle against the immediate Iranian threat to our survival, a threat that Russia is promoting. Principally, however, argues Arens, the issue could undermine Israeli-American relations.

Once again, the same old story with Mr. Netanyahu. His defense minister is pulling one way, his foreign minister another, and he shuttles between the two depending on which position will advance his political interests today. The only strategy is political and the only sacred principles are what will get him re-elected.

The New York Times.

IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

1899: China's Fate

LONDON — A "Morning Post" leader on England and Russia in China says: "The vital problem of the British policy today is not how much or how little of China is fifty or a hundred years hence to be under British influence. It is not even how much weight the will of Great Britain is to carry in the general settlement of China's fate. It is rather whether, in the general affairs of the world, the deliberate will of Great Britain is still to be one of the prime factors."

1924: Italian Protest

BERNE — The Italian Government has made a formal protest to the Swiss Federal Government against an anti-Italian demonstration by Swiss soldiers in Ponte Tresa. Swiss troops are alleged to have shouted insulting remarks about Signor Mussolini and the Fas-

1949: Televised Eclipse

NEW YORK — Last night's [April 12] eclipse of the moon was televised through a telescope to thousands of American viewers. It was the first television eclipse. Scientists said that the earth's shadow covered the moon to a greater extent than any eclipse since the "Black Eclipse" in 1844.

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OPINION/LETTERS

Does Territoriality Drive Human Aggression?

By Steven Levingson

PARIS — The crisis in Kosovo is so profound that it largely defies explanation.

Perhaps it would be constructive to step away from geopolitical assessments for a moment and ask a question of anthropology: Could it be that Slobodan Milosevic and his followers will stop at nothing in Kosovo because of an innate human aggression, inherited from our animal ancestors, to possess territory believed to be one's own?

Robert Ardrey, the playwright turned anthropologist, proposed the notion of human territorial aggression in "The Territorial Imperative," published in the 1960s. The controversial best-seller argued that the territorial instincts of animals apply equally to man. The book followed Mr. Ardrey's "African Genesis," a look at the evolution of human behavior, which also ignited an intellectual firestorm.

Although some scientists have criticized Mr. Ardrey's methods,

and new discoveries have superseded some of his conclusions, the territorial imperative remains a compelling premise — an avenue for possible understanding of the suffering that now racks the Balkans.

Simply put, Mr. Ardrey's theory proposes that humans, like animals, are compelled by instinct

MEANWHILE

to possess and defend territory they believe belongs exclusively to them. It is well known that many animals — among them ring-tailed lemurs, great-crested grebes, prairie dogs, robins, tigers and fence lizards — mark and defend their territory to the end. Territory enhances an animal's prestige and improves chances for survival.

"Man," wrote Mr. Ardrey, who died in 1980, "is as much a territorial animal as is a mockingbird singing in the clear California night. We act as we do for reasons of our evolutionary past, not our cultural present, and our behavior is as much a mark of our species as is the shape of a human thigh bone or the configuration of nerves in a corner of the human brain."

"If we defend the title to our land or the sovereignty of our country, we do it for reasons no different, no less innate, no less ineradicable, than do lower animals."

The principle of the territorial imperative applied to Kosovo may help to explain, though not excuse, the extreme actions of Slobodan Milosevic and his followers.

For Mr. Milosevic and many

other Serbs, Kosovo is imbued with such significance that it unleashes aggressive territorial instincts. The province is regarded as the Serbian heartland. The Serbs lost their independence in Kosovo to the Turks in 1389. By the time Serbia recaptured the region from Turkey in 1913, the ethnic Albanians were overwhelmingly dominant, making up 90 percent of the population. The Serbs still believed that Kosovo did not belong to them.

In his speeches, Mr. Milosevic recalls Kosovo's glorious medieval years under Serbian rule in an effort to summon his followers' patriotism. His attempts to rouse the population conforms to Mr. Ardrey's contention that the territorial imperative stirs a group — whether animal or human — to rally together in defense of what they believe is their rightful land.

"What we call patriotism," Mr. Ardrey wrote, "is a calculable force which, released by a predictable situation, will animate man in a manner no different from other territorial species."

The defense of territory is such a powerful instinct, Mr. Ardrey argued, that armies ignore it at their peril. He recounts how in World War II the United States was decidedly isolationist as long as no intruder had breached its borders. Then came the attack on the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, which Mr. Ardrey called Japan's "incredible blunder," and a war fought by U.S. troops on distant soil became a defense of the home turf.

Mr. Ardrey cannot stress enough the underlying resolve that motivates territorial defenders. "The fall of France shocked the world far more," he wrote, "because of the collapse of the French will to resist than because

of the failure of French arms. In the most profound recesses of our animal-subconscious minds, we take for granted the territorial imperative."

The French collapse seemed a kind of cry against nature, an evolutionary sin for which the French have been demonstrating guilt and neurosis ever since.

NATO's resort to air strikes in Yugoslavia rather than a troop invasion, Mr. Ardrey might suggest, represents a recognition of the respect modern warriors have for the territorial imperative. The possible commitment of troops provokes so much hand-wringing precisely because it taints the unpredictable powers of the Serbs' evolutionary inheritance.

Indeed, many years after the publication of Mr. Ardrey's book, the United States learned just how tenacious determined territorial defenders could be during its many fruitless years battling in Vietnam.

Both animals and humans form their identity out of the land they inhabit. Mr. Ardrey found repeatedly in the animal world that the herd or flock or school or troop seeks to differentiate itself from all other groups through its possession of a specific territory.

Describing the instinct, Mr. Ardrey wrote: "The place is mine; I am of this place," says the albatross, the pinto monkey, the green sunfish, the Spaniard, the great horned owl, the wolf, the Venetian, the prairie dog, the three-spined stickleback, the Scotsman, the skua, the man from La Crosse, Wisconsin, the Alsatian, the little-ringed plover, the Argentine, the lungfish, the lion, the Chinook salmon, the Parisian."

And, one might easily add, the Serb.

International Herald Tribune



Life Is Beautiful

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Greece and Kosovo

It is true that the current dramatic developments in the Balkans create an immediate danger for wider instability, as the crisis seems to set in for an indeterminate period and the wave of refugees is testing the situation in neighboring countries.

However, Greece in no way constitutes a part of the problem as your news analysis ("The Silent Issue: Greater Albania," April 6) seems to indicate.

Indeed, the basis of our approach to the crisis that has developed over Kosovo has always been the need to preserve stability and security in the overall region to our north, without frontier changes, while taking every action necessary to insure protection of the individual and collective rights of the Albanian Kosovars in their homeland. Fully subscribing to every European Union and NATO decision taken so far regarding Kosovo, Greece has

offered, in the deliberations among allies and partners, a voice of moderation and concern about possible repercussions in other neighboring countries.

I must take exception in the strongest of terms to the contention that Greece has territorial ambitions over its neighbors. The territorial integrity of all our neighbors constitutes the cornerstone of our foreign-relations policy.

In this context, Greece has developed close cooperation in particular

with Albania and the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia and has extended substantial political and economic support, especially over the last five years. Aid and investment have nurtured their fledgling economies.

In the current dramatic turn of events, while doing our best to help our neighbors face the tragic plight of Kosovar refugees, we still hope that a peaceful way might be found to ensure their return to their homes and a solution

adopted along the lines suggested by the Rambouillet framework.

Meanwhile, Greece is determined to make sure that once the crisis is over — as it must be, and soon — our country will be there to cooperate with all its neighbors, without exception, for the reconstruction of the Balkans as they should be.

ELIAS CLIS.

Paris.

The writer is the Greek ambassador to France.

BOOKS

ROBERT FROST: A Life

By Jay Parini. Illustrated. 514 pages. \$35. Henry Holt & Co. Reviewed by Christopher Lehmann-Haupt

WHY yet another biography of Robert Frost (1874-1963), when more than a dozen lives of the poet have already been published, among them Lawrence Thompson's three-volume official biography, "Robert Frost: The Early Years, 1874-1915," "Robert Frost: The Years of Triumph, 1915-1938," and "Robert Frost: The Later Years, 1938-1963," the latter written with R.H. Winnick?

Jay Parini — a poet, novelist and biographer who teaches English at Middlebury College — addresses this question in an afterword. "Frost and His Biographers," to his graceful "Robert Frost: A Life." Here he argues that to date Frost biographies have been defined by three phases. The first began with a view of Frost as a man of good sense and culminated in a caricature of Frost as the "farmer-poet" offering homespun wisdom from the lecture platform.

The corrective to this view was provided by Thompson's monumental biography. But for all the valuable detail it offered, it presented Frost as a monster and misanthrope: in Parini's words, "a selfish, egomaniacal, dour, cruel and angry man." This negative portrait prevailed until the third phase, when the focus of various Frost studies shifted to his poetry, and, as a result, a more complex and contradictory view of the man began to emerge. A throwback to phase two, in Parini's view, was Jeffrey Meyers' "Robert Frost: A Biography" (1996), which, he argues convincingly, was a compendium of sensationalist misinformation and a grotesque misreading of Frost's work.

The problem, Parini reasons, is that biography is too often misconstrued as mere facts, whereas what someone writing a life must discover is the story, or "myths," composed by the facts. Thompson's life was driven by a distorting myth, Parini argues. His own hope is to find in the facts "a fresh mythos." His intention is "not to supplant or overtake previous biographies and critics but merely to add a significant layer."

So the raw material of this biography is not new but freshly culled and arranged and told with emphasis on both the life and the poetry. Parini hesitates to say that Frost suffered from bipolar disorder: "one cannot, retrospectively, make such a diagnosis," he writes. But depression always threatened, made worse by the troubles of his children, to whom he was not as bad a father as previous biographers have insisted.

Fighting off the depression, Frost moved in two directions, Parini writes. He plunged deeply into nature, which he saw as a metaphor

for the spirit, but more concretely than Emerson, so that when he was a climber of his birches, his objective was not to reach the sky but to be grounded like Antaeus. Yet his aim was never to merge with the nature he wrote about in his poems, but rather to find "portent in little," as he put it in the poem "Design."

It is intriguing to consider how many of Frost's best poems reflect on the act of creation. Parini writes, "the process of breaking down the forms of reality given by the world and remaking them, restoring them to freshness." He illustrates this point at length in his analyses of poems like "Birches," "Mending Wall," "After Apple-Picking," "The Ax-Helve" and many others.

At the same time, Parini argues, Frost's fear of depression and loneliness drove him out onto the public stage. Here, as a teacher, lecturer and "sayer" of his poems, he evolved an image that although at odds with the subtlety of his writing, served both to create an audience for poetry readings and to define the role of the college writer in residence.

Admittedly, Parini is not entirely persuasive in his more benign view of Frost. Only if you believe that children are shaped exclusively by heredity can you accept that mere extreme "bad luck" accounts for why two of his daughters suffered mental breakdowns while his son ended up committing suicide. While instability ran in his family, Frost cannot have been easy to grow up with.

Yet the story Parini tells is more than palatable. Particularly satisfying are his analyses of Frost's craft as a poet, especially why Frost said that ignoring the formal rules of verse would be like playing tennis with the net

down. What made Frost unique was not merely the vernacular sound of his voice, or what he himself called his striving after "the sounds of sense." In an analysis of lines from the poem "Mowing," Parini shows how Frost's vernacular creates a tension with the underlying iambic pentameter. He writes: "The poetry, in Frost as in most good poets, occurs in the difference between the abstract possibility of the line and its vernacular performance, where stresses fall as they do normally in human speech." He concludes: "Without that slight tug toward the formally perfect line, however remote, there would be no poetry. The form, indeed, makes the poetry possible."

This tug between the formal and the vernacular is only one of the many contradictions that make Parini's version of Frost so intriguing.

As he concludes: "He was a loner who liked company; a poet of isolation who sought a mass audience; a rebel who sought to fit in. Although a family man to the core, he frequently felt alienated from his wife and children and withdrew into reveries. While preferring to stay at home, he traveled more than any poet of his generation to give lectures and readings, even though he remained terrified of public speaking to the end." In a sense, Frost made himself a representative American by amplifying his individuality, by finding a voice for Everyman in the persona of the Lone Striker. By making himself eccentric, he found the center."

By making Frost more complex and contradictory than his previous biographers have, Parini has brought him more sharply into focus.

New York Times Service

BEST SELLERS

The New York Times		
This list is based on reports from more than 2,000 bookstores throughout the United States. Weeks on the list are not necessarily consecutive.		
FICTION		
Book	Author	Weeks on List
1 THE TESTAMENT, by John Grisham		1 8
2 VIKING, THE VAMPIRE, by Anne Rice		2 2
3 TARA ROAD, by Maeve Binchy		4 4
4 DRIVER'S END, by Nora Roberts		3 4
5 SINGLE & SINGLE, by John le Carré		5 4
6 ABIDE WITH ME, by E. Lynn Harris		11 2
7 WHAT'S HEAVEN? by Maria Shriver		1 1
8 HARRY POTTER AND THE SORCERER'S STONE, by J.K. Rowling		6 16
9 ASHES TO ASHES, by Tamara Hoag		9 4
10 THE POISONWOOD BIBLE, by Barbara Kingsolver		10 24
11 HUSH, MONEY, by Robert B. Parker		12 3
12 APOLLYON, by Tim LaHaye		8 7
13 VECTOR, by Robin Cook		7 4
14 BE COOL, by Elaine		6 6
15 A SUDDEN CHANGE OF HEART, by Barbara Taylor		15 6
NONFICTION		
1 ALL TO HUMAN, by George Stephanopoulos		1 3
2 THE GREATEST GENERATION, by Tom Brinkley		2 17
3 MONICA'S STORY, by Andrew Morro		3 4
4 TUESDAY WITH MORRIE, by Mitch Albom		4 77
5 SPEED OF THOUGHT, by Bill Gates with Collins Hemmingsway		1 1
6 YESTERDAY, I CRIED, by Ivanka Vazquez		8 2
7 THE ART OF HAPPINESS, by the Dalai Lama and Howard C. Cutler		7 12
8 PERFECT MURDER, PERFECT TOWN, by Lawrence Sanders		6 6
9 REACHING TO HEAVEN, by James Van Der Zant		5 5
10 BLACK HAWK DOWN, by Mark Bowden		16 2
11 THE CENTURY, by Peter Jennings and Todd Brewster		10 19
12 ANOTHER COUNTRY, by Mary Fisher		13 2
13 TRAVELING MERCIES, by Anne Lamott		12 9
14 BLIND MAN'S BLUFF, by Sherry Stine and Christopher Drew		9 19
15 BEAUTY FADES, DUMB IS FOREVER, by Judy Sheindlin		11 8
ADVICE, HOW-TO AND MISCELLANEOUS		
1 THE COURAGE TO BE RICH, by Suzanne Orman		1 3
2 SOMETHING MORE, by Sarah Ban Breathnach		9 9
3 SIMPLE ABUNDANCE, by Sarah Ban Breathnach		121
4 THE 8 STEPS TO FINANCIAL FREEDOM, by Suze Orman		2 48

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Forsythe in Paris

A Strong Choreographic Influence

By David Stevens
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — In little more than a decade, William Forsythe has become a definite choreographic presence in Paris, and the events of the last couple of weeks suggest that, despite some changes, that presence will continue and develop.

On the one hand, Forsythe has just more than doubled the number of his works in the repertoire of the Paris Opera Ballet.

Rudolf Nureyev first brought Forsythe to Paris in 1983, when he created "France/Dance" for the company's younger dancers, then in 1987 Forsythe and the Opera's dancers, hit the jackpot with "In the Middle, Somewhat Elevated," which immediately established itself in the company's repertoire and shows no sign of wearing out its welcome. It reached its 100th performance by the company a few days ago.

"In the Middle" is the curtain-raiser in the current all-Forsythe program at the Opera, which includes three dances new to the Opera Ballet, two of them completely new works.

The final one of the program, and the one that will certainly join "In the Middle" as a staple in the company's repertoire, is "Pas de deux," a succession of short pieces of varied configuration — 20 solos, pas de deux, trios, quartets and a septet, plus a finale — all in 35 minutes of ultra-rapid succession in which the dancers are pushed to their limits in the choreographer's dance vocabulary — classically based but used with a radically modern eye for filling space.

Forsythe used some of the company's principals, but also some of the younger ones, and some of the newer names worth remembering are Peggy Grelat, Clairemarie Osta, Eleonora Abbagnato, Delphine Bayet and Jeremie Belingard.

The other new work on the program

was "Woundwork I," a shorter piece for two couples, tossed off with great style by Isabelle Guerin and Laurent Hilaire and Carole Arbo with Manuel Legris. In both works Forsythe typically took care of the scenic and lighting arrangements, Stephen Galloway provided the costumes and Thom Williams, Forsythe's licensed composer, provided the cut-to-measure musical support.

The fourth item on the Palais Garnier program is "The Vertiginous Thrill of Excitement," a dance created three years ago for the choreographer's own Frankfurt Ballet, in which five of the younger Paris dancers went all out under the motoric drive of the Allegro vivace movement of Schubert's great C-major symphony. The music was on tape.

The other aspect of Forsythe's Paris saga has been his regular seasons with the Frankfurt Ballet, of which he has been director and creative spirit since 1984.

For almost a decade, the Frankfurt company has come to Paris a couple of times a season, based at the Theatre du Chatelet, but this year some changes in the theater worlds of both cities has led the Frankfurt troupe to shift its base of operations at home to the Theater am Turm, while in Paris its port of call is now MC-93, the Maison de la Culture in suburban Bobigny.

This is where the Frankfurt is now holding forth until April 16 with two recent Forsythe works. "workwith-



Jeremie Belingard and Eleonora Abbagnato in "Pas de deux" at the Paris Opera Ballet.

work," a 45-minute piece for 20 of the company's dancers in various combinations, is set to a series of duets for two violins by Luciano Berio, whose difficulties are more hidden than apparent, but just as real as the complexities of the dancing.

"Quartet," despite the title, uses 11 dancers, but in such a way that a quartet or two quartets of dancers is always at the center of the proceedings in a constantly shifting, complex and fascinating succession of choreographic events. Stefanie Arndt and Dana Caspersen were the two women in the key positions of the quartets.

Verena Sommer and Maxim Franke were the violinists for Berio and in the Williams quartet, joined in the latter by Kathrin Flock (viola) and Matthias Lorenz (cello).

'Hamlet': Radical, and Clean

By Sheridan Morley
International Herald Tribune

LONDON — Seldom do you get to see Hamlet take a bath, still less often while giving the skull of Yorick a good scrubbing. But Laurence Boswell's radical staging of "Hamlet" at the Young Vic is full of such surprises, many of them remarkably and mercifully unignominious.

This is not the production of a director, or even a star, who has decided to make his name at the expense of the original text, nor that of people who have little faith in the ability of an audience to sit through virtually four hours of closely argued Shakespearean debate.

Indeed its big surprise is not the bath, nor even the Chinese stone warriors brilliantly assembled on Es Devlin's set to represent the advancing army of Fortinbras. Rather it is the reminder that the play does not really start to wind down the moment Hamlet is sent to his plotted death in England. To emphasize the rediscovery of a wealth of usually cut detail in Act V — Laertes's rebellion, Hamlet's encounter with the pirates and his planning the deaths of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern — Boswell courageously refuses to take the intermission until after Claudius sends his stepson abroad, long after the play or closet scene, where the drama is usually broken in half.

Not all his ideas are of equal brilliance: a determination to arm his characters with pistols while allowing them to twitter on about swords and rapiers seems deliberately perverse, while the costumes are a catastrophic mix of ancient and modern. Some of this may well be due to budget problems (the production comes up to us from the Theatre Royal of Plymouth), but Boswell achieves a revolutionary and revelatory "Hamlet" that is a sharp reminder to our better-financed Shakespearean ensembles that there is a lot to be said for just going back to original texts in their entirety.

In that sense, what is so effective is that Boswell does not have a single overriding theory to condition every-

thing that happens. He is content to explore the often ignored or just hidden highways and byways of the play, even where they end up in blind alleys or one-way streets. Similarly his star, Paul Rhys, is willing to let Hamlet be blown around by often random and contradictory circumstances, such as the unexpected sea fight that allows him to escape Claudius's murder plot.

Not all the casting is equally effective, though Robin Soans is a definitive Polonius, and it is little short of catastrophic to double Fortinbras with the second gravedigger, thereby requiring an actor to give his two major performances of the evening within moments of each other.

But in the end, what is so intriguing here is Boswell's ability to stage "Hamlet" as though nobody ever had before. As a result, we go with him on a roller-coaster ride into the dark and complex heart of the greatest play ever written, a journey of constantly unexpected discovery and frequent reappraisal. This production now travels on to Tokyo and Osaka, and for once we don't have to worry about the standards of the Shakespeare we are sending overseas.

Something rather different to celebrate at the Prince Edward. The first sure-fire millennial stage-musical hit, since it will clearly be with us way beyond 2001, turns out to be a bizarre celebration of old Abba hits from the 1970s. But the good news about "Mamma Mia" is that it is not just another mindless pop concert or anthology scrapbook. Instead, the National Theatre director Phyllida Lloyd and the fringe playwright Catherine Johnson have cobbled together a whole new book, much of it admittedly lifted from Willy Russell's "Shirley Valentine" and a somewhat forgotten Gius Lollobrigida movie called "Buona Sera Mrs. Campbell," which itself became a disastrous Alan Jay Lerner Broadway musical called "Car-

From that, we get the plot of a bride trying to work out which of three men might be her father, while from Willy Russell we get the feisty girl from regional England (in this case two generations of them, mother and daughter) determined to find herself and a new life under a Greek heaven.

We now have some kind of framework, however creaky, for otherwise disconnected songs, and by following their own leads both Lloyd and Johnson have finally cracked the Abba problem of how to get them a full stage hit, since neither "Chess" nor "Abba Cadabra" ever quite worked out.

And after an insecure start, "Mamma Mia" soars; perched somewhere between camp mockery and fan worship, amplified to ear-ache level, it gives us all the old standards from "Money, Money, Money" to "Super Trouper" while reminding us that in the quieter and less banal moments Abba was capable of some lyrics of considerable charm.

Warnings are issued of Lycra burnout, and the cast (notably Jenny Galloway, Louise Plowright and Hamish McRae) have the sense to indicate that they are well aware how terrible some of these numbers are, even as they start to sing them. But Lisa Stokke and Andrew Langtree are a couple of likable newcomers from Paul McCartney's Liverpool talent school, and Siobhan McCarthy holds an original, comic and occasionally moving show together.

The result is a kind of ironic sing-along that should suit the addicts and the mockers alike, and that in musical terms is an achievement rare enough to be celebrated. Bjorn and Benny were always the Pinky and Perky of Seventies pop, and they memorably managed to write songs that you forgot even while you were hearing them. But not since Dick Lester began filming the Beatles nearly 35 years ago has this particular form of satire-celebration been achieved with such confidence or sheer enjoyment.

CROSSWORD

ACROSS

- List under
- Most populous member of the British Commonwealth
- Sneakers brand
- Part of the Hindu trinity
- Boxer
- Door sign
- Leisurely lyricist?
- Playground cry
- Teacher
- Place for a nap
- Mischief-maker
- Intravenous injection

DOWN

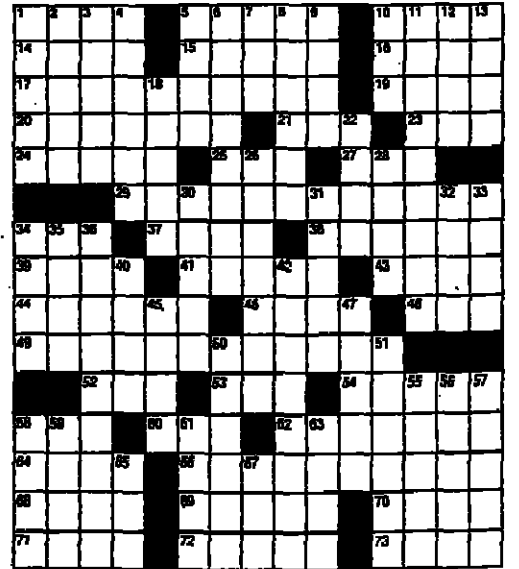
- Massachusetts quarter
- Type squiggle
- To have, in Le Havre
- Permitted
- Words said with a nod
- More restricted
- Dull brown
- Polar buildup
- Profess with nautical
- Gardens, N.Y.
- Show participant
- Carpe — (seize the day)

ACROSS

- La Scala offering
- Before towing off
- Hamlet's home
- Movie promo
- Graph line
- Assault on a lyricist?
- See
- Nash of note
- Place for embroidery
- Polo need
- Sympathy
- Bruce or Laura

DOWN

- Young rhino
- One with drive
- Story
- Serb foe
- Dark time, maybe
- Treated maliciously
- Tickle pink
- Come again
- Actor Alan
- Singer
- Northern major-league
- Look out...!
- Go on and on



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A Bass Man's High Notes

Cowboy Charlie Haden Doesn't Limit Himself

By Mike Zwerin
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — It is rare when a bass player becomes the leader. The bottom rising to the top, so to speak. Foundation as superstructure. Between the ages of 2 and 15, Charlie Haden sang with his family's country and western band at dances and concerts in fairgrounds and preacher's tents in such towns as Shenandoah, Iowa (where he was born), Del Rio and Wichita Falls, Texas, and Springfield and Forsyth, Missouri, (where he went to high school).

At the beginning, he had to stand on a chair to reach the microphone during their early morning radio program. He helped milk the cows and bailed hay. His father showed his prize Jersey cows at the Ozark state fair and played the harmonica. There were three older brothers and three younger sisters. They called him Cowboy Charlie.

Haden is an ambitious leader. Recently, there has been an increasing flow of diversified product under his name: many formats and programs and new associations. A duo recording with the guitar star Pat Metheny; an album by his Liberation Music Orchestra live at the Montreal Jazz Festival, which paid homage to Haden for a week; another one from Montreal in trio with Don Cherry.

There was a major reunion concert at the Umbria festival in Italy last summer with his former mentor — the trail-blazing father of free jazz, Ornette Coleman. And that's not all. The album "The Art of the Song" with his group Quartet West will be released next month on Verve. On it he sings again, for the first time in 47 years — "Wayfarin' Stranger," a traditional song his mother used to sing.

Charlie Haden drew towering cityscapes at school when asked to crayon up a landscape. "writes the novelist Rafi Zabor in the notes for the album 'Night and the City.' A duo with the pianist Kenny Barron. "Never seen a city like that but he had to go on drawing them. Even when specifically asked for waving fields of grain, Charlie would sketch out yet another version of night and the city. Maybe he'd heard a wisp of future music laid past him in the air."

Haden loved the way the bass sounded when his brother would play it, and he could hear how empty the music was whenever it stopped. Learning how to finger one on his own "just about gave me a heart attack." Still in high school, he went to a concert by the Stan Kenton Orchestra at the Shrine Mosque in Springfield, Stan Levy, Kenton's masterly, ambidextrous and doctored drummer, invited him up to his hotel room. The way Haden remembers it:

"The Colonial Hotel, man. Me and my friend went up in the elevator. Knocked on the door. The room was filled with smoke. I smelled something funny. What in the world was that? Whiskey bottles, gin bottles, everything all over the place. Stan Levy was in his undershirt and all these guys were sitting around. One guy looked at me and said, 'So you want to be a jazz musician? You really want to end up like this?' And I said 'Yeah. Yeah!'"

Already seduced by the romance of making music on the road, all that macho decadence only fueled his enthusiasm. As though he had not been warned, he went down the "road of excess" in



Charlie Haden: "Think of yourself as a human being who plays music."

search of William Blake's "palace of wisdom."

Now, at 61, many years after long and hard rehab at the Synanon Foundation in the 1960s, he is one of the jazz world's most prominent inactive drug addicts. And for more than a decade, he has been one of its most in-demand bass players — the mature Haden is known for his round sound and his impeccable time and choice of notes.

There was neither smoke nor whiskey in his post leader's-choice hotel room last month. He continues to spend much of his life in hotels. After Paris, he would fly to Italy, Norway and Brazil. Over the past six months he had had three serious ailments — he suffered a herniated disk, his gall bladder was removed and he developed acute inflammation of the pancreas. Able to tour again, he was nevertheless forced to cancel engagements in Bergamo and Barcelona.

BUT he was peppy in Paris as he described what it was like to sing again. Mind you, the competition is in no danger, he had to be talked into it in the first place, and he promises it won't become a habit. He does not imagine himself singing standards.

But "Wayfarin' Stranger" fit too perfectly into his scheme for "The Art of the Song," which presents rarely heard

songs of unusual purity like "The Folks Who Live on the Hill." "You, My Love" and Leonard Bernstein's "Loneley Town." Soaking in lush strings, they are sung by Shirley Horn, just about everybody's candidate for "singer's singer," and by the virile Bill Henderson, who deserves to be a name in many households. Haden's definition of "song" is wide enough to include Rachmaninoff and Ravel.

One day, he hopes, he'll record with his children.

His son, Josh, is a singer, songwriter and leader of a successful band called Spain, which, it has been said, is making "the punk rock of the '90s."

His three daughters are triplets: Rachel plays electric bass and sings. Petra is a violinist and a singer who recently turned down a tour with a rock star after her eminently sensible dad pleaded: "Please, whatever you do, don't go on tour with Rod Stewart."

Tania plays the cello, sings and is studying animation at the California Institute of the Arts, founded by Walt Disney, where her father teaches music.

"Don't think of yourself as a bass player," Haden tells his students.

"Don't think of yourself as a jazz musician. Because it's going to limit you. Open up your imagination. Think of yourself as a human being who plays music."

Saving Details Of a Genius Of the Dance

By Jennifer Dunning
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The studio where Jerome Robbins danced out his ideas before rehearsals was filled with packing boxes. Posters, photographs and costume and set sketches were propped up against the pristine white walls and wall-length mirror in this top-floor room of Robbins's handsome, austere Upper East Side town house.

The choreographer, who died last year, bequeathed his archives to the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts and its dance collection, one of the world's major collections on dance. The announcement of the gift was made Monday by the library's president, Paul LeClerc, at "Broadway Celebrates Jerome Robbins," a tribute at the Majestic Theater.

Robbins, whom LeClerc described as "one of the best friends" of the library, helped the dance collection establish its huge film and video archive in 1964 with an endowment supported by a percentage of his royalties from the Broadway musical "Fiddler on the Roof."

With this new collection, the library has acquired more than 100 boxes of materials and more than 30 file drawers of papers pertaining to his shows and ballets, all neatly labeled with titles as dry as "shows" and "contracts" and as tantalizingly mysterious as "Exception and the Rule" and "The Misha Project." An additional gift of related materials has been made by Daniel Stern, a friend of Robbins's.



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China's Lost Trade Horizon

Clinton's WTO Switch Angers Zhu - and U.S. Firms

By Joseph Kahn
New York Times Service

CHICAGO — When President Bill Clinton visited China last summer, he and China's top leader, Jiang Zemin, held a news conference broadcast live around China in which they discussed every sensitive issue in U.S.-China relations.

At the time, some other Chinese leaders considered it perhaps the biggest risk Mr. Jiang had taken in the decade since he assumed China's top political titles, an unprecedented concession to demands for more political openness. The risk-taking paid off when Mr. Clinton's visit was judged a success by both sides.

Just 10 months later, Prime Minister Zhu Rongji has complained at every stop on his six-city tour of the United States that Mr. Clinton "does not dare" to take what he considers to be a much smaller political risk: allowing China to join the World Trade Organization under terms that even Mr. Clinton's own trade negotiators considered highly beneficial.

"We know our American counterparts very well — we have been negotiating this agreement for 13 years," said a senior Chinese official traveling with Mr. Zhu who had close involvement in the talks.

"When you are doing these things for so long,

you know when you have a deal. We had a deal."

Chinese officials accompanying Mr. Zhu on his visit pointed to this asymmetry — Mr. Jiang taking the gamble of his political life, Mr. Clinton overruling his own staff's advice as an illustration of what they see as endless frustration in their dealings with the United States. Yes, they say, democracies work differently from dictatorships, but that does not justify what they perceive as Mr. Clinton's intolerable fickleness.

A week after Mr. Clinton turned down China's proposal on joining the WTO as inadequate, Washington is struggling to mollify U.S. business leaders and Chinese officials angry over the damage the summit meeting may have inflicted on relations between the two countries.

The frustration has built even as officials gush about Mr. Zhu's visit to America. The prime minister has shown that he can stand face to face with the best American politicians and argue persuasively for his views, they say. He might even have succeeded in rallying public support for China's entry into the trade organization, although some Chinese officials have been known to overestimate the political influence that business leaders have.

That confidence was in evidence Monday when 1,500 business executives, including chief executives of Motorola Inc., United Airlines,



Prime Minister Zhu Rongji speaking to the media during his visit to Chicago.

Bank One and a dozen other companies based in the Midwest gathered in Chicago at a banquet for Mr. Zhu. With the prime minister seated at the podium, several chief executives vowed their support for China's entry as Mr. Zhu nodded in appreciation. Commerce Secretary William Daley, in town for the occasion, also assured Mr. Zhu that China's admission was "not a question of if, but when."

Chinese officials also reacted favorably to word that some 100 executives showed up for a White House briefing on China trade talks on Monday. But several of the executives who attended complained that Mr. Clinton's administration had misread both public and congressional sentiment when it scuttled the deal with China, according to participants.

Christopher Galvin, Motorola's chief exec-

See ZHU, Page 14

Toyota Names New Leader

Cho, a Popular Executive, to Succeed a Blunt Cost-Cutter

By Stephanie Strom
New York Times Service

TOKYO — Toyota Motor Corp. named Fujio Cho as its next leader Tuesday, ending months of speculation about who would succeed Hiroshi Okuda as president of one of the savviest car companies in the world.

Mr. Okuda, a darling of the media and investment communities, will become chairman, a largely honorary post in Japan, succeeding Shiro Toyoda, a third-generation scion of the founding family. The changes will take effect after the annual shareholders' meeting in late June.

Analysts had anticipated Mr. Cho's appointment ever since Mr. Okuda, 66, stunned corporate Japan in January by announcing that he intended to vacate his post at the biggest automaker in Japan to take charge of the Japan Federation of Employers' Associations, or Nikkeiren.

Mr. Cho, 62, most recently served as right-hand man to Mr. Toyoda when he was chairman of the Keidanren, Japan's leading business association. He is known for his ties to the family, whose influence at Toyota is far out of proportion to the tiny percentage of shares it still owns.

But perhaps most important, Mr. Cho has widespread popularity at the company and among its vast web of suppliers and is thus well-positioned to smooth the ruffled feathers left by Mr. Okuda.

"He's a caretaker who will continue along the path Mr. Okuda set out," said Koji Endo, an analyst at Schroders Securities in Tokyo.

The Nikkeiren's announcement that it intended to appoint Mr. Okuda as its president gave birth to speculation about the shift in his responsibilities at Toyota.

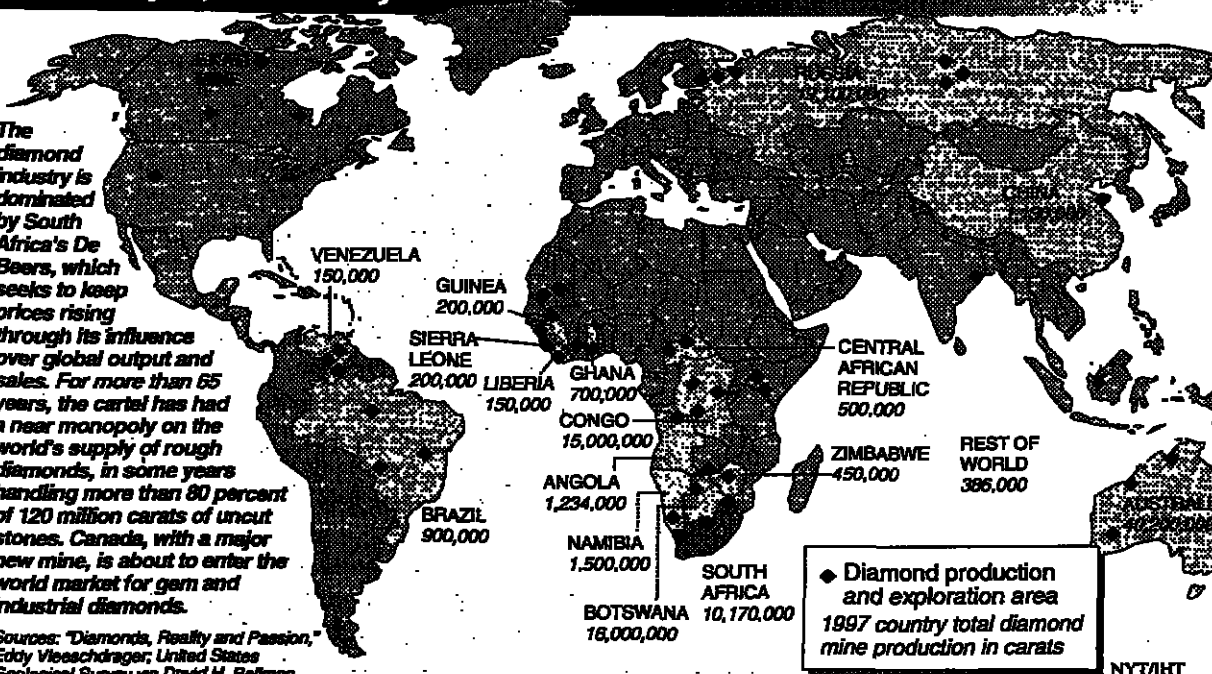
One rumor suggested that the changes Mr. Okuda had wrought at Toyota, many of which were imposed with lightning speed and little deference to tradition and convention, had rankled the family patriarch, Eiji Toyoda, who is Shochiro's first cousin once removed.

Another suggested that Mr. Okuda had an itch to radically alter lifetime employment practices that some analysts complain have stymied Japan's economic progress. Mr. Okuda himself said he thought the job required more youthful energy than he could muster.

Analysts and executives at other Japanese auto companies suggest that the most likely explanation is that he ran afoul of the insular, close-knit community of parts manufacturers, dealers and service providers who make their homes in and around the company's headquarters in Toyota City outside Nagoya.

Those vendors, having seen Mr. Okuda's success in cutting costs at the company, perhaps figured he wasn't going to waste much more time in tackling the costs associated with them.

Old Player, New Player



A Multifaceted Challenge

Canadian Mine Tackles the De Beers-U.S. Rift

By Anthony DePalma
New York Times Service

EKATI MINE, Northwest Territories — To dig rough diamonds out of the Canadian tundra, operators of the first major diamond mine in North America face some of the most hostile conditions on Earth.

Among them are blinding snow, bitter temperatures and a desolation so complete that for all but two months of the year, when it is possible to drive across frozen lakes, no vehicle can get within 150 miles (240 kilometers).

But all of that may be the easy part of working the Ekati mine.

To sell the more than 4 million carats of diamonds they expect to painstakingly pick out of the ground each year, the Canadian miners have to deal with one of the most potent

market forces in the world: the De Beers diamond cartel.

The Canadians need De Beers Consolidated Mines Ltd., an affiliate of Anglo American Corp. of South Africa. Without it, they risk disrupting the cartel's grip on the market, which keeps gem prices high for all. Last month, in fact, the mine's owners agreed to sell part of its production to De Beers.

But that deal carries its own risks. U.S. antitrust regulators take a dim view of De Beers, and if the owners get too cozy with the cartel, their American businesses could feel the heat.

For more than 65 years, De Beers has had a near-monopoly on the world's supply of rough diamonds, in some years handling more than 80

See DIAMONDS, Page 14

Korea Challenges Chaebol on Reforms

Kim Warns of Another Economic Crisis if Restructuring Slows Down

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

SEOUL — President Kim Dae Jung accused top conglomerates Tuesday of slowing up on reform and warned of another economic crisis if restructuring did not proceed more quickly.

The warning came amid threats by two South Korean unions to call a general strike unless the government halted its restructuring drive, which has resulted in mass layoffs.

Mr. Kim said reforms by the conglomerates, or chaebol, had flagged amid signs of economic recovery.

"The atmosphere among firms has slackened recently as the economy shows signs that it is recovering," Mr. Kim said, adding there was "still international criticism regarding the restructuring of the top five conglomerates."

"If the reforms are not carried out properly this year, our economy will again face difficult times and lose international trust," Mr. Kim said at a cabinet meeting.

Mr. Kim earlier threatened to intervene if the sprawling family-owned

chaebol failed to push ahead voluntarily with restructuring to improve their weak financial status.

In a sign of the weakened state of the chaebol, Standard & Poor's Corp. on Tuesday lowered its credit rating on Daewoo Corp., flagship of the Daewoo con-

"If the reforms are not carried out properly this year, our economy will again face difficult times and lose international trust."

glomerate, and warned the parent company, Daewoo Group, to take tough action to clean up its balance sheet.

The ratings concern cut Daewoo's rating from B to B-minus, saying the company faced "heightened financial risks from its swelling debt burden." Daewoo rejected the agency's report as "outraged," contending that its financial condition had improved this year.

Also on Tuesday, the Financial Supervisory Commission pledged that the chaebol would not be allowed to use accounting maneuvers to minimize their huge debts. The assurance came after the ratings concern Moody's Investors Service Inc. said it was concerned that conglomerates may use "creative" methods to trim their debt-to-equity ratios to the maximum of 200 percent set by the government.

Mr. Kim is scheduled to meet April 22 with the heads of the five biggest conglomerates — Hyundai, Daewoo, Samsung, LG and SK. He has held such meetings every three months to check on their progress in restructuring.

Union workers, however, have blasted the government for forcing the reforms, which they blame for rising layoffs in a country accustomed for decades to assurances of "jobs for life."

In a sign of the nation's gradually improving finances, South Korea said it would repay \$3.7 billion of International Monetary Fund loans during the next three months, shortly before they mature. (AFP, Bridge News)

Kvaerner Will Sell Its Shipbuilding Division

Bloomberg News

OSLO — Kvaerner ASA said Tuesday it would sell its shipbuilding division and other unprofitable assets, cut costs and slash its work force by one-third, or 25,000 workers, to try to reduce its debt by 7 billion kroner (\$905 million) by the end of next year.

The company will sell or close units with about 25 billion kroner in sales, leaving Kvaerner with annual revenue of about 55 billion kroner from its construction, oil and gas equipment, and engineering and contracting businesses. The company will take charges of as

much as 2 billion kroner for the sale of the shipbuilding unit and 2 billion kroner for restructuring in the first quarter.

Kvaerner has seen shipbuilding profit dwindle recently because of cost overruns at its Masa yard in Finland, tough competition from Asian yards and overcapacity in the industry, caused by low demand for ships and offshore installations due to low crude-oil prices and weak shipping markets.

The company's 13 shipyards are in Norway, Finland, Britain, Germany, Russia, Singapore and the United States.

"Kvaerner's measures are right from

an industry point of view and will be good for the company, but they also carry a high price tag," said Richard Jansen, an analyst at Carnegie in Oslo.

"Shipbuilding ties up a lot of capital, and the market will worsen as competition increases."

In Oslo, Kvaerner's shares fell 3 kroner to close at 136 (\$17.60).

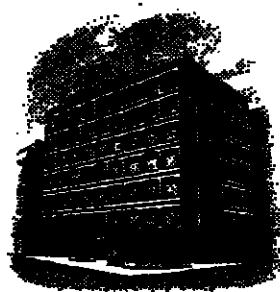
The company has languished under heavy debt since it acquired Trafalgar House PLC for \$1.38 billion in 1996. The move Tuesday was viewed as an attempt to improve profit, ease its debt burden and regain investor confidence.

CURRENCY RATES

April 13					Other Dollar Values					April 13				
Cross Rates					Per \$					Per \$				
	\$	£	SF	Yen	CS	Dane	Greek	Swede						
London (a)	1.6167	—	2.0026	194.30	2.4065	11.13	486.18	13.4057						
New York (a)	—	1.6155	1.4905	119.725	1.4905	6.905	301.065	8.3099						
Tokyo	120.70	194.66	81.28	—	80.84	17.35	0.4	14.59						
Zurich	1.4885	2.4044	1.0009	1.2384	—	0.2161	0.4922	0.1794						
Turkish	1.4889	2.4053	—	1.2395	0.9999	21.551	0.4948	0.1794						
One euro	1.0765	0.6671	1.4032	129.66	1.4049	7.4234	304.30	8.9575						
One SDR	1.3403	0.8425	2.0071	164.09	2.0326	9.3203	n.a.	11.2634						
Interbank rates excluding commissions.														
a: To buy one pound: £1. To buy one dollar: \$1.00. Not quoted: N.A.: not available.														
SDR: Special Drawing Rights of the IMF.														
Sources: Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi (Tokyo); Royal Bank of Canada (Toronto); Banque de France (Paris); IMF (SDR). Other data from Reuters.														
Euro Values														
Fixed rates of the ERM member currencies, for one euro:														
Austria (aust.)	13.7603													
Belgium (bel.)	40.3399													
Denmark (dan.)	6.5595													
Finland (fin.)	6.5595													
France (franc)	1.9363													
Germany (mark)	—													
Greece (drach.)	206.482													
Ireland (pound)	7.8756													
Italy (lira)	2036.27													
Netherlands (guilder)	20.361													
Portugal (escudo)	200.482													
Spain (peseta)	166.386													
Sweden (krona)	4.6634													
Switzerland (franc)	1.4885													
United Kingdom (pound)	1.6167													
United States (dollar)	1.0000													

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Tuesday's 4 P.M.
The 1,000 most traded National Market securities
in terms of dollar value, updated twice a year.
The Associated Press.

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87	1000		1.00	
88	1000		1.00	
89	1000		1.00	
90	1000		1.00	

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14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560	561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574	575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588	589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602	603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616	617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630	631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644	645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658	659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672	673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686	687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700	701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714	715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728	729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742	743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756	757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770	771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784	785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798	799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812	813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826	827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840	841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854	855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868	869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882	883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896	897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910	911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924	925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938	939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952	953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966	967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980	981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994	995	996	997	998	999	1000
14	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56	57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84	85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98	99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126	127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140	141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154	155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168	169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182	183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196	197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210	211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224	225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238	239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252	253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266	267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280	281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294	295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308	309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322	323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336	337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350	351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364	365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378	379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392	393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406	407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420	421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434	435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448	449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462	463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476	477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490	491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504	505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518	519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532	533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546	547	548	549	550																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																																		

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Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close
The 150 most traded stocks of the day,
up to the closing on Wall Street.
The Associated Press

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Tuesday's 4 P.M. Close
(Continued)

Stock	Div Yield (%)	PE	100 High	Low	Latest Close	Change
1000	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1001	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1002	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1003	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1004	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1005	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1006	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1007	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1008	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1009	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1010	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1011	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1012	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1013	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1014	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1015	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1016	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1017	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1018	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1019	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1020	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1021	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1022	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1023	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1024	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1025	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1026	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1027	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1028	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1029	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1030	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1031	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1032	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1033	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1034	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1035	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1036	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1037	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1038	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1039	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1040	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1041	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1042	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1043	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1044	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1045	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1046	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1047	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1048	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1049	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1050	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1051	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1052	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00
1053	1.00	10.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	0.00

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12 Month High Low Stock	Div Yld	P/E	100/High	Low/Latest	Open
154	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
155	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
156	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
157	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
158	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
159	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
160	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
161	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
162	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
163	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
164	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
165	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
166	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
167	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
168	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
169	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
170	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
171	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
172	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
173	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
174	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
175	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
176	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
177	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
178	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
179	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
180	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
181	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
182	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
183	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
184	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
185	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
186	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
187	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
188	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
189	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
190	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
191	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
192	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
193	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
194	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
195	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
196	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
197	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
198	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
199	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2
200	2 1/2	12.0	14 1/2	11 1/2	11 1/2

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EUROPE

Pragmatists Take Economic Reins in Bonn

By John Schmid
International Herald Tribune

FRANKFURT — Germany's new finance minister signaled a policy shift Tuesday as he took office, replacing the senior deputies of his left-leaning predecessor, Oskar Lafontaine, with a team of economic pragmatists.

The shake-up by the new minister, Hans Eichel, who effectively becomes Bonn's second most influential figure after Chancellor Gerhard Schröder, came as Germany's latest export figures confirmed that Mr. Eichel, the former premier of the state of Hesse, had inherited a mixed economic picture.

Exports, on which the economy is heavily dependent, fell 0.6 percent in February from a year earlier, although they rose slightly from the previous month. In January and February combined, exports from Europe's biggest economy slumped 3.1 percent from a year earlier, a trend that economists attributed to the global economic slowdown and crisis in Asia. But the trade surplus rose in February as imports fell.

Mr. Eichel will ask Mr. Lafontaine's two top economic advisers, Heiner Flassbeck and Claus Noe, to leave at the end of April, the ministry said. Both of the state secretaries had resisted stepping aside since Mr. Lafontaine resigned four weeks ago after losing a power struggle with Mr. Schröder.

The shake-up is expected to shift the balance toward structural reforms and supply-side policies and away from Mr. Lafontaine's interventionist policies, economists said. The changes came one day after Mr. Schröder's Social Democratic Party elected him as chairman, succeeding Mr. Lafontaine, who also resigned from that post. Mr. Eichel is expected

to help Mr. Schröder steer the center-left coalition to the political mainstream.

There were signs Tuesday that Mr. Eichel, 57, would impose a new austerity budget. The Finance Ministry confirmed that he faced a budget shortfall this year of at least 30 billion Deutsche marks (\$16.6 billion). German newspapers reported this week that Mr. Eichel planned spending cuts to close the gap.

Mr. Flassbeck, who has been responsible for the coordination of international economic policy, will be replaced by Caio Kai Koch-Weser, 54, a vice president at the Washington-based World Bank. Because of his position, Mr. Koch-Weser has good relations with the International Monetary Fund, the U.S. Treasury and other officials of the Group of Seven industrial countries.

By contrast, Mr. Flassbeck, whose strong inclination toward demand-side, pump-priming shaped many of Mr. Lafontaine's views, had no international political experience

and relied Germany's partners with his insistence on taking political considerations into account on exchange rates and interest rates. Mr. Flassbeck has been on vacation and "de facto has already left the ministry," an official said.

"Koch-Weser signals a return to orthodoxy in international economic affairs, of going back to the old approach and backing away from target zones for exchange rates and capital controls," said Joachim Fels, a London-based economist at Morgan Stanley Dean Witter.

Mr. Noe, who was in charge of budget affairs, will be replaced by Heiner Flassbeck, who comes directly from the private sector in a move that analysts said ushered in a more pro-business tax stance by the ministry. Mr. Flassbeck is currently director of the tax division at Bayer AG, a multinational chemical and pharmaceutical concern. Mr. Noe previously worked as a journalist, and like Mr. Flassbeck, lacked political experience in Bonn.

Because taxes are a pivotal issue in the effort to overhaul Germany's creaking economic model, the appointment of Mr. Flassberger, 60, is decisive, Bonn officials and economists said.

Mr. Flassberger sits on a blue-ribbon panel that advises the ministry on changes in business taxes, and his appointment heralds a more centrist approach to tax reforms by the federal government, Mr. Fels said. From 1974 to 1987, Mr. Flassberger was the tax-tissues expert in the Finance Ministry, working under both conservative and Social Democratic administrations.

Mr. Lafontaine resigned in part because his tax plan had prompted a backlash by industry, which complained that German corporate taxes were already among the highest in the world and that the plan would shift more burdens to them. Some large businesses have threatened to leave Germany.

As former premier of Hesse, the state that contains the Frankfurt financial center, Mr. Eichel has strong ties to that city's banks and business community as well as to the Bundesbank and the Frankfurt-based European Central Bank.

Mr. Eichel said he would not use public pressure to influence the European Central Bank, even if he does have "a difference of opinion" with it. Mr. Lafontaine and Mr. Flassbeck came under heavy criticism for their public calls for lower interest rates, though the bank cut rates last week.

Mr. Eichel is expected to support Ernst Welteke, president of Frankfurt's regional central bank, to take over as president of the Bundesbank after Hans Tietmeyer retires in August. Mr. Welteke, a longtime political ally of Mr. Eichel, previously served as Mr. Eichel's finance minister in Hesse.

Vivendi Plans to List Unit

PARIS — Vivendi SA said Tuesday it planned to list its Vivendi Environment unit on the Paris Bourse within three years to help finance the acquisition of the American water treatment company U.S. Filter Corp.

The company said it would retain a stake of more than 67 percent in Vivendi Environment. The unit had 1998 sales of 15.4 billion euros (\$16.7 billion), almost half of the 31.7 billion euros in global sales generated by Vivendi.

The U.S. Filter acquisition, for

\$6.2 billion, will be at least 40 percent financed through a convertible bond issue, the company said. The bonds will have a six-year maturity and be convertible into Vivendi or Vivendi Environment shares.

Vivendi also is planning a capital increase and will split its stock 1-for-3, before the transaction. The split is aimed at attracting small investors. Vivendi's chairman, Jean-Marie Messier, told Les Echos on Tuesday that a 2.5 billion-euro convertible bond issue would be created Wednesday.

Chief Quits At Barclays Over Illness

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

LONDON — The chief executive of Barclays PLC resigned abruptly Tuesday for health reasons, barely two months after he was named to the post.

Michael O'Neill, a former Marine from California, was appointed to head the bank in February after the surprise resignation last year of Martin Taylor. He was expected to start his duties March 26, but the bank said he never made it to his desk.

Mr. O'Neill had been charged with turning around the company's fortunes after a series of recent setbacks. But Mr. O'Neill, 52, who helped oversee BankAmerica Corp.'s merger with NationsBank Corp., fainted twice last week and was diagnosed with an irregular heartbeat that could be aggravated by stress, a bank spokesman said.

Barclays' stock had risen sharply since Mr. O'Neill's appointment on hopes he would increase returns and put an end to losses in investment banking and emerging markets. Barclays sold its equity business at a loss in 1997 and lost money on Russian loans last summer. Then Mr. Taylor quit in November in a board dispute on strategy.

"They are now not equipped at senior management level to carry out strategic changes," said John Hatherly at M&G Investment Management Ltd. (Reuters, Bloomberg)

Investor's Europe			
Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40	
5000	6750	4000	
5100	6850	4100	
5200	6950	4200	
5300	7050	4300	
5400	7150	4400	
5500	7250	4500	
5600	7350	4600	
5700	7450	4700	
5800	7550	4800	
5900	7650	4900	
6000	7750	5000	
6100	7850	5100	
6200	7950	5200	
6300	8050	5300	
6400	8150	5400	
6500	8250	5500	
6600	8350	5600	
6700	8450	5700	
6800	8550	5800	
6900	8650	5900	
7000	8750	6000	
7100	8850	6100	
7200	8950	6200	
7300	9050	6300	
7400	9150	6400	
7500	9250	6500	
7600	9350	6600	
7700	9450	6700	
7800	9550	6800	
7900	9650	6900	
8000	9750	7000	
8100	9850	7100	
8200	9950	7200	
8300	10050	7300	
8400	10150	7400	
8500	10250	7500	
8600	10350	7600	
8700	10450	7700	
8800	10550	7800	
8900	10650	7900	
9000	10750	8000	
9100	10850	8100	
9200	10950	8200	
9300	11050	8300	
9400	11150	8400	
9500	11250	8500	
9600	11350	8600	
9700	11450	8700	
9800	11550	8800	
9900	11650	8900	
10000	11750	9000	
10100	11850	9100	
10200	11950	9200	
10300	12050	9300	
10400	12150	9400	
10500	12250	9500	
10600	12350	9600	
10700	12450	9700	
10800	12550	9800	
10900	12650	9900	
11000	12750	10000	
11100	12850	10100	
11200	12950	10200	
11300	13050	10300	
11400	13150	10400	
11500	13250	10500	
11600	13350	10600	
11700	13450	10700	
11800	13550	10800	
11900	13650	10900	
12000	13750	11000	
12100	13850	11100	
12200	13950	11200	
12300	14050	11300	
12400	14150	11400	
12500	14250	11500	
12600	14350	11600	
12700	14450	11700	
12800	14550	11800	
12900	14650	11900	
13000	14750	12000	
13100	14850	12100	
13200	14950	12200	
13300	15050	12300	
13400	15150	12400	
13500	15250	12500	
13600	15350	12600	
13700	15450	12700	
13800	15550	12800	
13900	15650	12900	
14000	15750	13000	
14100	15850	13100	
14200	15950	13200	
14300	16050	13300	
14400	16150	13400	
14500	16250	13500	
14600	16350	13600	
14700	16450	13700	
14800	16550	13800	
14900	16650	13900	
15000	16750	14000	
15100	16850	14100	
15200	16950	14200	
15300	17050	14300	
15400	17150	14400	
15500	17250	14500	
15600	17350	14600	
15700	17450	14700	
15800	17550	14800	
15900	17650	14900	
16000	17750	15000	
16100	17850	15100	
16200	17950	15200	
16300	18050	15300	
16400	18150	15400	
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16700	18450	15700	
16800	18550	15800	
16900	18650	15900	
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17900	19650	16900	
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19400	21150	18400	
19500	21250	18500	
19600	21350	18600	
19700	21450	18700	
19800	21550	18800	
19900	21650	18900	
20000	21750	19000	
20100	21850	19100	
20200	21950	19200	
20300	22050	19300	
20400	22150	19400	
20500	22250	19500	
20600	22350	19600	
20700	22450	19700	
20800	22550	19800	
20900	22650	19900	
21000	22750	20000	
21100	22850	20100	
21200	22950	20200	
21300	23050	20300	
21400	23150	20400	
21500	23250	20500	
21600	23350	20600	
21700	23450	20700	
21800	23550	20800	
21900	23650	20900	
22000	23750	21000	
22100	23850	21100	
22200	23950	21200	
22300	24050	21300	
22400	24150	21400	
22500	24250	21500	
22600	24350	21600	
22700	24450	21700	
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22900	24650	21900	
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23100	24850	22100	
23200	24950	22200	
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23400	25150	22400	
23500	25250	22500	
23600	25350	22600	
23700	25450	22700	
23800	25550	22800	
23900	25650	22900	
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24700	26450	23700	
24800	26550	23800	
24900	26650	23900	
25000	26750	24000	
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25200	26950	24200	
25300	27050	24300	
25400	27150	24400	
25500	27250	24500	
25600	27350	24600	
25700	27450	24700	
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25900	27650	24900	
26000	27750	25000	
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26400	28150	25400	
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26600	28350	25600	
26700	28450	25700	
26800	28550	25800	
26900	28650	25900	
27000	28750	26000	
27100	28850	26100	
27200	28950	26200	
27300	29050	26300	
27400	29150	26400	
27500	29250	26500	
27600	29350	26600	
27700	29450	26700	
27800	29550	26800	
27900	29650	26900	
28000	29750	27000	
28100	29850	27100	
28200	29950	27200	
28300	30050	27300	
28400	30150	27400	
28500	30250	27500	
28600	30350	27600	
28700	30450	27700	
28800	30550	27800	

IF YOU WANT TO SEE SOMETHING done, just tell some human beings it can't be done. Make it known that it's impossible to fly to the moon, or run a hundred metres in nine-point-nine seconds, or solve Fermat's Last Theorem. Remind the world that no one has ever hit sixty-two home runs in a season. Stuffed eighteen people into a Volkswagen Bug. Set half the world free. Or cloned a sheep. Dangle the undoable in front of the world. Then, consider it done.

HUMAN ACHIEVEMENT



The bid proposals opening session will take place at **10h00**, local time on Monday, **12th July, 1999** in the Ministry of Finance, Praia, Cabo Verde.

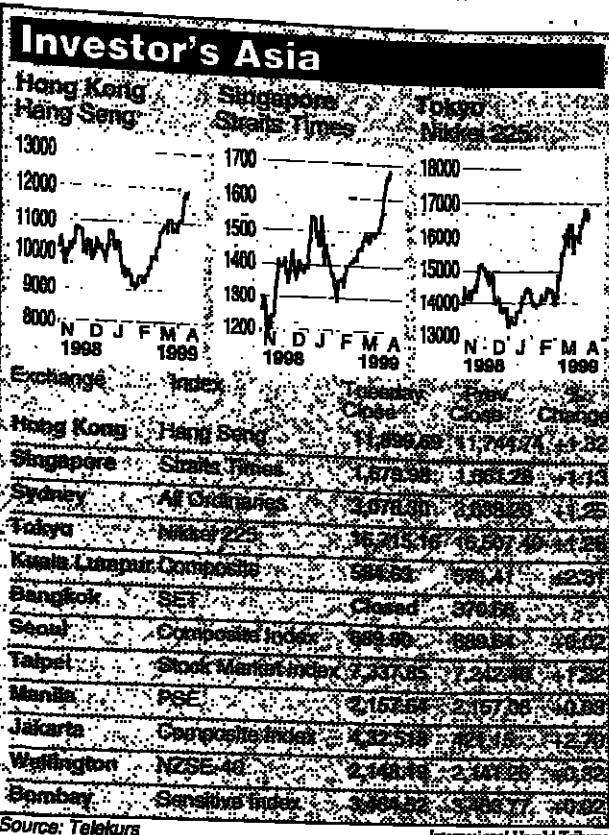
It also does not help that Magazine X's reporters are no welcome at company news conferences.

But many a deal has fallen apart in South Korea since the country committed itself to eliminating barriers to the foreign investment it urgently needs.

<http://www.ihf.com/IHT/FUN/funds.html>

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ASIA/PACIFIC



World Bank Delays Loans to Indonesia

Bloomberg News

JAKARTA — The World Bank is withholding \$600 million in loans for Indonesia until after the June elections on worries the money may be misused for political ends, a spokeswoman for the agency said Tuesday.

Aid organizations and opposition groups are worried that the ruling Golkar party may use the money to support its re-election campaign, and the World Bank is concerned about that possibility too, said Kimberly Versak, the spokeswoman at the bank's Jakarta office.

The \$600 million was due to be released in the fiscal year that ended March 31, but was delayed after the government failed to improve the monitoring the bank was insisting on, she said. Also, World Bank aid was not clearly being identified as assistance

from the agency, Ms. Versak said.

"You had these sums of money dumped at the village level, and nobody knew where it was coming from," Ms. Versak said.

The \$600 million loan is "designed to put in place policy conditions seeking to safeguard key safety net programs, to protect expenditures crucial to the poor, and to improve the design of new programs to allow the poor to be more effectively reached," Ms. Versak said.

Since President Suharto resigned last May, there has been a stream of revelations about the mismanagement of World Bank funds in Indonesia, including internal bank reports that included as much as 30 percent of its loans to Indonesia went into the pockets of government officials.

Separately, the government said Tuesday it might seize two of the largest businesses controlled by Mr. Suharto's family as it looks to recover mountains of debts.

PT Bimantara Citra, controlled by Mr. Suharto's second son, Bambang Trihatmodjo, and PT Citra Marga Nusaphala, controlled by his older sister, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, are potential targets for a government takeover, said Eko Budiarto, deputy director of the Indonesian Bank Restructuring Agency, or IBRA.

IBRA has been charged with a 300 trillion rupiah (\$34 billion) restructuring of the country's banking industry, which includes recovering banks' assets, liquidating banks and injecting fresh capital into banks that are viable.

If the companies are taken over, it would mark a policy change, signaling that assets of firms owing money to banks could be seized to repay those debts.

China's Growth Expected To Slow in 2d Half of '99

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

BEIJING — Economic growth will slow to 6 percent in the second half of 1999 from 8 percent in the first six months of the year, China's state media forecast Tuesday.

Wang Chunzhang, the deputy director of the state planning and development commission, said China would achieve its estimated target of 7 percent growth for the year.

Mr. Wang, quoted by the daily China Economic Times, gave no reasons for the anticipated slowdown.

He acknowledged that there were "problems" in stimulating consumption, with the Chinese preferring to save their money during the uncertainties caused by economic reforms.

Mr. Wang also highlighted a weakness in the international environment that he said was weighing heavily on foreign investments in China.

Hit by the Asian economic crisis, China's gross domestic product last year grew 7.8 percent, the lowest since 1991 and below its target of 8 percent. As officials bowed to the difficulties, the target for this year was lowered to about 7

percent. Prime Minister Zhu Rongji, who is on a tour of the United States, has said that growth in the first quarter will reach 8.2 percent.

China has pledged to keep the value of its currency, the yuan, stable despite the financial crisis that has seen other currencies tumble and rendered Chinese exports less competitive. China reported Monday that exports fell 7.9 percent in the first quarter.

Separately, the China Daily reported that the number of workers laid off by state-owned companies would be limited to 7 million this year, 1 million more than in 1998.

Quoting Wang Jianlin, the deputy minister of labor and social security, the daily reported that the government would provide 24.5 billion yuan (\$2.96 billion) this year to help cover the monthly unemployment benefits of those made jobless.

Mr. Wang added that the government was having difficulty making employers pay pensions and had set a target of ensuring that at least 50 percent of overdue pension payments are made by the end of 1999. (AFP, Bloomberg)

Jobless Cloud Japan Outlook

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

TOKYO — Worsening conditions in the labor market are casting a shadow over improvement in business sentiment, although overall the economy appears to be bottoming out, the Economic Planning Agency said Tuesday.

In a separate report, Japan's central bank noted an improvement in corporate and consumer sentiment and echoed the agency's view that the country's slide was drawing to a close.

Despite the cautious optimism, the planning agency said rising joblessness remained a worry. It has warned that the jobless rate could rise above 5 percent in the next few months after setting a record of 4.6 percent in February as companies shed workers. The agency said government spending was preventing the economy from worsening.

Separately, Hideo Yamaguchi, head of the Financial Reconstruction Commission, warned that the country's troubled regional banks might start closing operations to take advantage of a state safety net. (AP, AFP)

ARNOLD, CALOR, ROWENTA, SEB, TEFAL

CONSOLIDATED SALES AT MARCH 31

	March 31, 1999 € M	1998/1998 % change	March 31, 1999 FRF M
France	98.8	+ 8.4	648
Other EU countries	118.5	- 2.4	777
The Americas	93.5	- 17.6	613
Other countries	52.1	- 49.6	342
Total	362.9	- 15.5	2 380

The full in Russian sales reduced consolidated revenues by around €55 M (FRF 360 M).

Arno's sales declined by €27 M (FRF 180 M) due to a 20% contraction in volume and a 30% currency effect.

In France, consolidated sales gained more than 8%, reflecting both very high demand for non-stick cookware, pressure cookers, vacuum cleaners, irons and scales, and an encouraging upturn in kettle sales. This sustained business did not yet include the products unveiled in February at the Domotex trade fair.

In the rest of the European Union, sales contracted slightly from levels reached in first-quarter 1998, which benefited from very strong business.

In North America, T-Fal Corp is maintaining its recovery momentum, with a clear improvement in sales and strong demand for the new lines introduced late last year. Rowenta's iron business is also continuing to expand.

In Latin America, the Brazilian recession had an adverse impact on Arno, but the company reported good initial sales of the steam irons now being produced locally.

In the rest of the world, the Russian market has overshadowed the Group's strong growth in other countries, especially Japan and Turkey, as well as the gradual increase in contributions from the new subsidiaries, particularly in South Korea and Australia.

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THE WORLD'S LEADING BUSINESS PAPER

Very briefly:

- **Itochu Corp.** of Japan expects to report a loss of 34 billion yen (\$281.5 million) for the year to March 31 and plans to freeze hiring and reduce its companies by about a third, to 700, by the end of March 2001, closing some unprofitable ones and spinning off others.
- **Melbourne's Dockland's Authority** canceled an agreement on construction of a 120-story office and apartment building, which would have been the world's tallest, because the developer, Bruno Grolio, had not met a "fundamental financial condition."
- **Vietnam** has opened three-day talks with the European Union on greater market access for exporters from both sides, a Vietnamese government official said Tuesday in Hanoi.
- **Government of Singapore Investment Corp.** has undergone a major reorganization to increase accountability, with the real estate and special investments departments becoming separate companies, the Business Times of Singapore reported.
- **Hitechmaga Sdn.** has established a Web site called MyBiz, on which partnerships can be formed and contracts concluded between Malaysian companies and prospective buyers of their products. The Web address is: www.mybiz.net.my.
- **Pohang Iron & Steel Co.** of South Korea posted a net profit of 300.9 billion won (\$246 million) in the first quarter, up 57.2 percent from the fourth quarter of last year, on rising domestic steel demand.

Bloomberg, Reuters, AFP

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116 METROLYNCH AMER. INC. PTF.	610	121 NAM FUND MANAGEMENT	728	191 US SMALL CAP EQUITY FUND	123.8	266 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	391 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	516 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	641 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	766 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	891 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1016 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1141 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1266 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1391 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1516 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1641 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1766 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	1891 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2016 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2141 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2266 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2391 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2516 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2641 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2766 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	2891 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	3016 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	3141 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	3266 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	3391 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	3516 US MID-CAP EQUITY FUND	100.0	3641 US MID-CAP 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WORLD ROUNDUP

Olazabal's Inspiring Comeback

Spaniard's Victory at Masters Highlights Depth of Golf Talent Pool

By Clifton Brown
New York Times Service

AUGUSTA, Georgia — At the Masters champions' dinner last week, Gary Player provided Jose Maria Olazabal with some timely inspiration.

The atmosphere is always special at the annual affair, when such legendary former winners as Player, Jack Nicklaus, Sam Snead, Byron Nelson and Arnold Palmer come together in one room to share stories and memories.

At one point during the gathering, Player asked Olazabal about his confidence.

"I said, 'It's not really that great,'" said Olazabal, who last won a major at the 1994 Masters. "He looked at me with those eyes. He said: 'You have a great swing. If you didn't, I wouldn't tell you. But you have to believe in yourself.'"

"He stood. He kept on saying, 'You have to believe in yourself.' The determination and his words, and the way he said it, helped me to believe in myself, too."

Now everyone who witnessed Olazabal at the Masters believes again in his ability. His performance re-established him as one of the world's best golfers. After his memorable victory Sunday at Augusta National Golf Club, by two strokes over Davis Love and three over Greg Norman, Olazabal completed a long and difficult journey, overcoming a disabling foot pain three years ago that threatened to end his career.

In addition to reaffirming Olazabal's status, the first major tournament of the

year also confirmed how deep the talent pool is today in golf. Much of the pre-tournament talk centered around David Duval and Tiger Woods, the world's No. 1- and No. 2-ranked players, respectively. While a Duval-Woods rivalry has been talked about as an energizing force for the PGA Tour, we are still waiting for a Duval-Woods head-to-head confrontation at a major.

Duval, who had won the previous two tournaments on the tour, recovered from a shaky start to tie for sixth place at 3 under par. Woods never found his putting stroke and finished tied for 18th.

Many great players rose to the forefront this weekend, however, setting up a furious finish. Entering the final round Sunday, a host of former winners of majors had a chance to overtake Olazabal, including Love, Norman, Nick Price, Steve Elkington, Lee Janzen and Justin Leonard. In addition, other players had a chance for unexpected glory, including Bob Estes and Steve Pate, who finished tied for fourth, and Carlos Franco of Paraguay, who finished tied for sixth.

But Olazabal held off everyone, proving again that golf's talent extends around the globe, far beyond the PGA Tour. How many people picked Olazabal to win before the first round? Yet in his five previous Masters, he had never finished worse than a tie for 14th, so his triumph could hardly be called a surprise. "He's quite good, isn't he?" Colin Montgomerie said. "When he gets in this position, he's very difficult to dislodge."

By winning another Masters at age 33,

Olazabal proved he still belongs in the cast of players capable of winning a major at any time, a pool that is extremely deep. Olazabal knew that his victory Sunday put him in a different category. He is now one of only three players currently under 35 have won two majors — Janzen and Ernie Els are the other two.

"I won my first one, you might say, 'O.K., it might have been a lucky week,'" Olazabal said. "But when you win two, especially the way I did it, it means a lot more."

By finishing third this week, less than a year after shoulder surgery, Norman put himself back in the hunt for a major and back among players who cannot be overlooked. He was a sentimental favorite for those who remembered his collapse on the last day of the Masters in 1996.

"I was more disappointed in '96 than I am now," said Norman, who lost a six-stroke lead to Nick Faldo during the final round that year. "I feel 80 percent success, 20 percent failure. Ninety-six was a totally different animal. Back in '96, there was probably 90 percent disappointment, 99 maybe. I feel I've climbed up a pretty good mountain."

Norman's peers seemed happy about his re-emergence. "I have the utmost respect for Greg," Duval said. "He's never been anything but nice to be, very cordial, polite, friendly, encouraging. It's great to see him up there again."

So there is much to look forward to anticipating the next major, the U.S. Open this June in Pinehurst, North Carolina. In the meantime, Olazabal can savor another day when he rose to the occasion.



UNDER PRESSURE — Michael Chang hitting a backhand Tuesday to Michael Hill in the first round of the Japan Open in Tokyo. On a windswept day, all three sets went to tie breaks as Chang struggled to beat Hill, an Australian ranked No. 211, 7-6 (7-5), 6-7 (5-7), 7-6 (7-4).

Oilers Clinch Berth

ICE HOCKEY Tom Poti scored the winning goal with 1:05 left in overtime as the Edmonton Oilers clinched the final National Hockey League playoff place by beating the San Jose Sharks, 5-4, Monday night.

Calgary, the other contender for the eighth Western Conference playoff spot, lost, 2-0, to Vancouver.

The Oilers will play the top-ranked Dallas Stars in the first round.

"We're going into the playoffs against a team we really have no chance against," said Ron Low, the Oilers coach. "But strange things happen..." (AP)

Peter Forsberg, the All-Star Swedish forward, agreed on Tuesday to a three-year, \$30 million contract extension with the Colorado Avalanche. (AP)

Japanese Olympian Dies

SWIMMING Masaji Kiyokawa, 86, a Japanese swimmer who won a gold medal at the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics, died of pancreatic cancer at a Tokyo hospital Tuesday, the Japan Olympic Committee said.

Kiyokawa served as a vice president of the International Olympic Committee from 1979 to 1983. He won the men's 100-meter backstroke in the 1932 Olympics. (AP)

Rockets Maul Wolves

BASKETBALL The Houston Rockets put some distance between themselves and the Minnesota Timberwolves in the battle for National Basketball Association playoff seedings.

Hakeem Olajuwon scored 22 points, including 12 in the third quarter, and Charles Barkley added 14 points and 11 rebounds as the Rockets beat Minnesota, 95-90, Monday.

The Timberwolves started the evening 2½ games behind Houston. "If we had lost the game the way it went down, it would have been so demoralizing," said Rockets coach Rudy Tomjanovich. "Every game counts so much this time of year. This game counts double..." (AP)

British Jockey Charged

HORSE RACING Graham Bradley, a leading English jockey, was charged by the police Tuesday with conspiring to fix a race in 1996.

Bradley is accused of agreeing with accomplices to stop his ride Man Mood from winning the race at Warwick on Nov. 5, 1996. He will appear before a London court on Wednesday. (AFP)

Coping With Life as a South American Soccer Star in London

International Herald Tribune

LONDON — On the surface, Gustavo Poyet and Javier Margas have much in common. Both are top soccer players, which means the world is their oyster. Both are South Americans contracted to London clubs. Both are on the mend after long and threatening injuries.

Yet they are facing up to opportunity and challenges as differently as two individuals can. Poyet, pursuing major trophies, is the rock of Chelsea's morale — a player of commanding and inspiring physical strength, and even when injured, a man who laughs from the inside and inspires colleagues.

Margas... well where is Margas? His club, West Ham United, spent £2 million (\$3.2 million) to hire the defender after watching his resilient play for Chile in the 1998 World Cup. He played three league games for the club, during which he struggled to cope with the frantic way the English rush about the field, and ended up with a sore knee in August.

The injury and the mind got sorer and sorer until, as an act of human understanding, the West Ham management

suggested that Margas go home to Chile, rest in the sun and see if, with his club paying the bills, he could pull through with doctors who speak his language.

The Hammers, as the team is known, were willing to write off a year of service for a 30-year-old. They were trying to be logical and patient, not normal qualities in soccer. They thought that Margas would eventually return to repay them.

Imagine the dismay of the club's officials when they read in the papers Margas saying: "I will never play in England again. My family were lonely in London."

Fair enough — or it would be if there was any prospect of the fee being repaid to West Ham. Universidad Catolica, which pocketed the cash by selling Margas, is not likely to take him back. Colo Colo of Chile has courted the player without consulting the English club.

Maybe the Hammers will have to shrug off being hammered, again, by attempting to import talent. The club has

a sorry record of scouting the globe, buying by the handful, and off-loading players who did not acclimatize to the pace or the attitudes of "English" play.

I use the quotes because it is difficult to know what is English anymore. The Bosman case, which led to teams across Europe being allowed to hire more foreign nationals, has flooded every important league with cosmopolitan stars.

West Ham hasn't made it work, but Chelsea has. There are 20 miles between East and West London, but a world of difference in the cultures. The East End, epitomized by West Ham's proud history of building up teams from its own territory, is former docklands. It welcomed first Huguenot, then Jewish refugees and now has a sizable Asian population.

Across the city on the King's Road, Chelsea is the fashionable place. If you have the money, you move in and you swing to the music, the rebirth of the Blues — the Chelsea Blues — who hold a

European trophy (the Cup Winners Cup) and are chasing the English Premiership title. It is hard to spot an English face in Chelsea colors, and it does not matter to the fans. Among its multinational squad — African, Dutch, Russian, French, Romanian and Italian — is Chelsea's cheerful Uruguayan, Gus Poyet.

This dark, handsome man, at 31, roughly the same vintage as Margas, adores London life. To be honest, he enjoys life. He was as content in Zaragoza in Spain, where he scored 63 goals from midfield in 239 matches.

Like Margas, one of the first things that hit Poyet was the combative force of the English style. He sat out two thirds of last season with injury, but returned ahead of schedule to make the difference in the Cup Winners Cup. He was playing well this season until, wickedly fouled by a French defender at Southampton, his knee required reconstruction.

Yet speak to any player at Chelsea, and he will confirm that Poyet always looks on the bright side of the sporting life, always lifts team spirit.

Last month, Chelsea's morale dipped

when it lost at home to West Ham. Poyet improved his teammates to stay positive. He smiled, he joked, he worked harder on his training. On Saturday, Poyet came back and, overflowing with enthusiasm, scored a decisive goal in Chelsea's 2-1 victory at Wimbledon.

It is curious, this gulf between South Americans in the same city. The answer may lie in the fact that non-English clubs pamper individuals when they are fallen, take care of them in a way that minimizes the pain of isolation and enforced idleness. West Ham's manager, Harry Redknapp, is an East Londoner of the old school who hires players and expects them to get on with it. Chelsea had Ruud Gullit as coach when Poyet signed, and Gianluca Vialli as player-coach today.

From east to west, London is a divided city. But maybe that is bunk. Maybe Gustavo Poyet is one of those nomads who, no matter where he roams, makes the best of himself. Maybe, in the last analysis, it's down to human nature.

Rob Hughes is chief sports writer of The Times of London.

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Announcements

Herald Tribune

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SPORTS

Shutout Spoils
Tigers' Big Day

The Associated Press
Ever since Ty Cobb stole home in the first inning of the first game played at Tiger Stadium, there had never been a home opener at the old ball-

park that was scoreless after nine innings.

Until the very last one, that is.

Todd Walker took care of that, hitting a home run in the 12th Monday as the Minnesota Twins beat Detroit, 1-0, in the final home opener at Tiger Stadium.

A crowd of 47,449 saw the last home opener at Tiger Stadium. Next year, the team moves to Comerica Park, about a mile away.

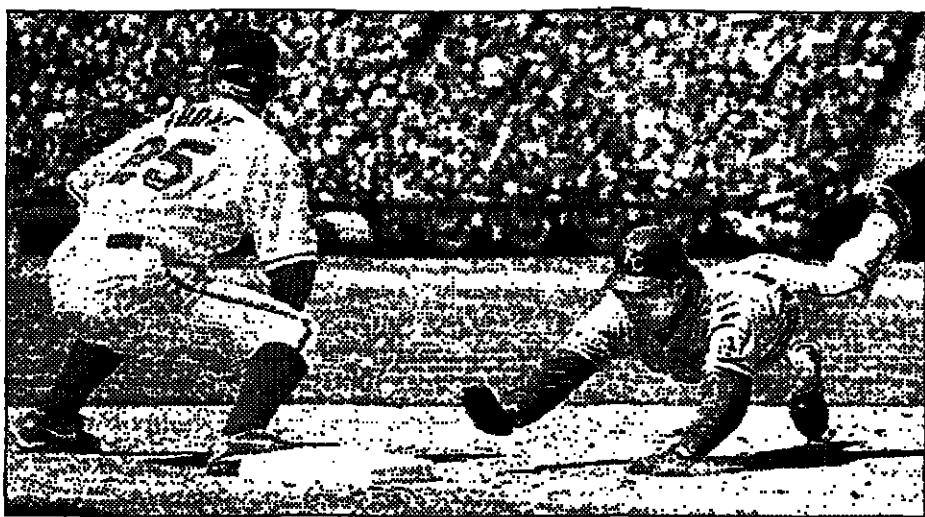
Detroit finished 49-39 in home openers at the stadium. Indians 5, Royals 0-2. Travis Fryman played the hero's role as Cleveland, for the second successive year, won its home opener on a three-run homer in the 10th inning.

Fryman's one-out drive gave the Indians their sixth straight victory.

Last season, Jim Thome won it against Anaheim's Troy Percival.

Angels 13, Rangers 5. Tim Salmon drove in five runs and Troy Glaus had three of Anaheim's team-record 10 doubles at Texas.

Glaus, who drove in three runs, and Salmon, who doubled twice, each had four hits. The Angels finished with 20 hits. Anaheim won three of



Kansas City's Johnny Damon diving to first to beat a tag by Cleveland's Jim Thome.

four games at Texas, totaling 34 runs and 57 hits.

Blue Jays 7, Devil Rays 1. David Wells was in control until he was knocked out of the game by a hard grounder in the sixth inning, and Tony Fernandez went 4 for 4 in Toronto's home opener.

Wells struck out eight and walked none. He gave up five hits, including Randy Winn's single off his right shin. Wells fell to the ground, but was able to walk off the field under his own power.

Mariners 6, Athletics 3. Butch Huskey drove in three

runs with a homer and a double, breaking a 2-2 tie with a two-run homer in the sixth as Seattle beat visiting Oakland.

Domingo Cedeno, the sixth shortstop used by the Mariners this season, added a two-run homer.

Leyritz Topples the Rockies

The Associated Press
Jim Leyritz is known for hitting game-winning home runs in the postseason. He can hit them in the regular season, too.

Leyritz hit a three-run homer in the 11th inning and the San Diego Padres spoiled Colorado's home opener with an 8-5 victory Monday.

Last Wednesday, Leyritz's pinch-hit homer in the bottom of the ninth gave the Padres a 2-1 victory over the Rockies. This time, he beat them with a drive off Dave Veres.

"I think I beat down a little more in the clutch," he said. Veres struck out the first two batters in the 11th, but Tony Gwynn singled for his third hit and Wally Joyner doubled.

Leyritz homered into the second deck in right-center field. "It was fastball up, probably shoulder high. He prob-

ably shouldn't have swung at it," Veres said. "Everybody in the ballpark knew it was a good pitch, except for Leyritz. He liked it. The last few years, he's lived on that situation."

Rockies 2, Cubs 2. It was a disappointing home opener for 39,092 fans at Wrigley Field.

NL ROUNDBUP
Sammy Sosa managed only an infield hit, starter Kevin Tapani left because of a shoulder injury and the Cubs lost their fourth in a row.

Mike Cameron hit two home runs for Cincinnati, and Barry Larkin and Eddie Taubensee also connected. That was enough for Steve Avery to earn his first NL victory since 1996.

Mariners 1, Yankees 1. After New York lost its All-Star catcher, Mike Piazza, and Rick Reed to injuries during the week-

end, Bobby Jones took care of the hitting and pitching all by himself at the Shea Stadium opener.

Jones hit his first career home run in 297 at-bats. He also beat Florida for the second time in eight days, allowing one run and four hits in seven innings.

Brewers 6, Phillies 5. Javy Lopez hit a two-run homer in the eighth inning and Atlanta won in Philadelphia's home opener.

After the Phillies tied it in the seventh on solo homers by Scott Rolen and Alex Arias, Lopez connected off Ken Ryan.

Diamondbacks 12, Dodgers 6. Travis Lee hit his first career grand slam and tied the franchise record by driving in five runs as Arizona won its home opener over the team that swept them in three games last week in Los Angeles to open the season.

SCOREBOARD

BASEBALL

MAJOR LEAGUE STANDINGS

AMERICAN LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Boston	2	1	.667	—
New York	1	2	.333	—
Toronto	1	2	.333	1 1/2
Chicago	0	3	.000	2 1/2
Baltimore	0	3	.000	3 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Cleveland	1	2	.333	—
Kansas City	1	2	.333	—
Minnesota	1	2	.333	—
Chicago	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Detroit	0	3	.000	3 1/2

WEST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Seattle	1	2	.333	—
San Diego	1	2	.333	—
Texas	1	2	.333	—
Los Angeles	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Colorado	0	3	.000	3 1/2

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	1	2	.333	—
Atlanta	1	2	.333	—
Philadelphia	1	2	.333	—
Montreal	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Florida	0	3	.000	3 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Pittsburgh	1	2	.333	—
St. Louis	1	2	.333	—
San Francisco	1	2	.333	—
Chicago	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Arizona	0	3	.000	3 1/2

WEST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	1	2	.333	—
Los Angeles	1	2	.333	—
San Diego	1	2	.333	—
Colorado	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Arizona	0	3	.000	3 1/2

MONDAY LINESCORES

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20

JAPANESE LEAGUES

CENTRAL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

PACIFIC LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

YESTERDAY RESULTS

CENTRAL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

PACIFIC LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	1	2	.333	—
Atlanta	1	2	.333	—
Philadelphia	1	2	.333	—
Montreal	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Florida	0	3	.000	3 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Pittsburgh	1	2	.333	—
St. Louis	1	2	.333	—
San Francisco	1	2	.333	—
Chicago	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Arizona	0	3	.000	3 1/2

WEST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	1	2	.333	—
Los Angeles	1	2	.333	—
San Diego	1	2	.333	—
Colorado	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Arizona	0	3	.000	3 1/2

MONDAY LINESCORES

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20

JAPANESE LEAGUES

CENTRAL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

PACIFIC LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

YESTERDAY RESULTS

CENTRAL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

PACIFIC LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	1	2	.333	—
Atlanta	1	2	.333	—
Philadelphia	1	2	.333	—
Montreal	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Florida	0	3	.000	3 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Pittsburgh	1	2	.333	—
St. Louis	1	2	.333	—
San Francisco	1	2	.333	—
Chicago	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Arizona	0	3	.000	3 1/2

WEST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
San Francisco	1	2	.333	—
Los Angeles	1	2	.333	—
San Diego	1	2	.333	—
Colorado	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Arizona	0	3	.000	3 1/2

MONDAY LINESCORES

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20
Astoria	101	510	121-13	20

JAPANESE LEAGUES

CENTRAL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

PACIFIC LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

YESTERDAY RESULTS

CENTRAL LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

PACIFIC LEAGUE

	W	L	Pct.	GB
Chunichi	8	0	1.000	—
Yokohama	4	0	.667	—
Hiroshima	4	0	.667	—
Hanshin	3	0	.500	—
Yomiuri	2	0	.333	—
Yokohama	2	0	.333	—

NATIONAL LEAGUE

EAST DIVISION

	W	L	Pct.	GB
New York	1	2	.333	—
Atlanta	1	2	.333	—
Philadelphia	1	2	.333	—
Montreal	0	3	.000	3 1/2
Florida	0	3	.000	3 1/2

CENTRAL DIVISION

St. Louis	24	27	24	20-95
San Francisco	20	18	27	25-96

†: Olatunwo 8-14 6-6 22, Mack 6-8 2-2 17;
Gunn 2-2 2-2 27, Alford 8-13 2-2 23.

POSTCARD

A Kurd Film in Turkey

By Stephen Kinzer
New York Times Service

ISTANBUL — Probably no Turkish film has had the worldwide impact of Yilmaz Guney's "Yol," a harrowing look at what is portrayed as a land of harsh military rule and feudal codes.

At the 1982 Cannes International Film Festival, the movie shared the top award, the Palme d'Or, with the Costa-Gavras classic "Missing," becoming the only Turkish film to win such a high international honor. It had a long run in the United States and instilled in many viewers a sense that Turkey was a backward and frightening place.

Until now, however, most Turks have had no chance to see "Yol." Guney, a Kurdish nationalist, was in prison when the film was made according to his script and instructions. When he appeared on stage to claim his award in Cannes, he was an escapee wanted by the police. The clenched fist he raised upon receiving his award was as well as triumph; he died two years later.

"Yol" was banned by the military government that held power in Turkey in the early 1980s. Civilians returned to power in 1983 and the ban on "Yol" was lifted in 1992, but for a variety of technical and financial reasons it is only now being shown here. A new print has been prepared, and since February it has been drawing big crowds at dozens of theaters around the country. At the Istanbul Film Festival this month, three more of Guney's films will be shown, all with new prints that the government paid for.

The long-delayed release of "Yol" has provoked much comment here. Despite the fact that Guney was a de-

stating critic of Turkish society and an ethnically assertive Kurd, remarkably little of the comment has been negative. Most has focused on the quality of his films and his achievement in bringing Turkish cinema to world attention.

"He was a supporter of the Kurdish cause, which I oppose because I believe in the unitary state," said Halit Refig, an active Turkish director. "But I still have great respect for him as one of the best filmmakers this country has produced. It's great that he is back on the screen."

Guney wrote the script for "Yol" while serving a prison term for a murder that he had evidently committed in the heat of an argument over a woman. He smuggled the screenplay out, and the movie was filmed clandestinely in southeastern Turkey under the direction of one of his collaborators, Serif Goren. Goren has complained that his role in making the film is being forgotten in the wave of acclaim for Guney, and he boycotted the glittering Istanbul premiere in February.

"Yol," which means "road," tells the story of five inmates of a Turkish prison who are given a 10-day furlough. As they make their way to their homes in the mostly Kurdish southeast, they confront violence, military repression, vendetta feuds, ancient attitudes toward women and honor, and other aspects of the Turkish-Kurdish reality. They seem to find their homes and home lives at least as imprisoning as their jail cells.

Guney films to be shown at the Istanbul festival, "Hungry Walls," "Seyyit Han" and "Hope," were made before "Yol." Festival organizers expect all to be sellouts.

An 'Old' Berlin Rises From the New One

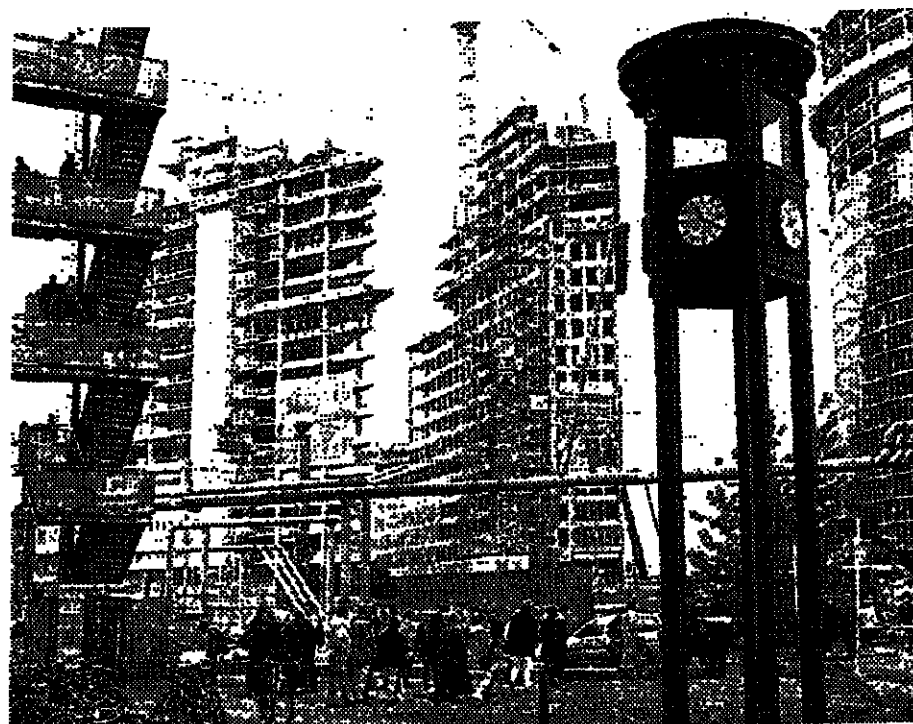
By Alan Riding
New York Times Service

BERLIN — No major European city displays its fractured history more visibly than Berlin. In just the 19th and 20th centuries, it was successively headquarters of the Prussian kingdom, the second German Reich, the Weimar Republic and the Nazi regime. It was then flattened by Allied bombers, occupied by the four victorious powers and divided into hostile camps, with its eastern sector becoming the capital of the communist German Democratic Republic. And each political moment was recorded in its buildings, avenues and empty spaces. By the time East Germany imploded in November 1989, Berlin resembled a sprawling museum of architectural history.

It then promptly set out to build yet another "new Berlin," this time as capital of a prosperous, democratic and single Germany. The problems of turning two cities into one were enormous; the challenge of starting afresh was exciting. Overnight, Berlin became a hothouse of discussion about what could or should be done. Renowned international architects were invited to join the debate. The past kept blurring visions of the future, but decisions were finally made. And in the 1990s, more than \$120 billion of public and private money was poured into construction and renovation that have transformed the city's profile.

The Reichstag, Germany's pre-Nazi Parliament building, has been rebuilt; legislators will meet there April 19 for a session marking the return of the German government to Berlin. Nearby, a modern Chancellery is going up, while numerous old buildings — including some from the Nazi era — are being prepared to receive government officials. Private business groups led by Daimler-Benz are close to completing a new neighborhood at Potsdamer Platz, the heart of 1930s Berlin. The city's prewar historic center between Museum Island and Pariser Platz is filling up with new buildings. Even the Stalinist apartment buildings on Karl-Marx-Allee in the former East Berlin have new facades.

Now, with Berlin about to resume its place at the heart of the German nation, the new city is ready to be judged. More or less. In truth, it is not yet complete. Cranes still silhouette its skyline, while the final homes and work places of many officials and politicians moving here from Bonn won't be ready until 2002. But more fundamentally, the



The Potsdamer Platz in Berlin, during the height of reconstruction last fall.

main urban and architectural decisions defining the new Berlin have been made. And the verdict? Well, those hoping for a showcase of avant-garde architecture have been disappointed. For them, a rare opportunity has been lost. So far, only Daniel Libeskind's new Jewish Museum has been hailed as a stunningly original building — and its design was approved before the Berlin Wall came down. After reunification in 1990, however, the city's powerful building authorities opted for what they called the "critical reconstruction" of historic Berlin and imposed strict guidelines on the size and appearance of all but the federal buildings. Obsessed with recreating a traditional "European city," they left little room for innovation.

"The result is dull and uninspiring," said Libeskind, who still lives in Berlin. "Now people are beginning to see what was given to them. Dullness was the bureaucratic result of what the planners wanted to communicate: power and order, a new 'old Berlin.' But you can't restart history by pressing a button. It becomes a kitsch idea of history."

Yet from a strictly urban point of view,

great strides have been made toward reuniting the city. Remnants of the 160-kilometer-long (100-mile-long) Berlin Wall remain as tourist attractions, but the deep wound it cut through Berlin for 28 years is quickly being healed. In many areas, it is hard to know where the wall once stood. As important, the city's urban infrastructure is being renovated. North of the Reichstag, for instance, the Leichter railroad station is being entirely rebuilt, with a vast hole announcing where a new tunnel will lead trains in and out of the city. Another tunnel for road traffic will keep many vehicles out of the city center, while services like water and drainage are being modernized at huge expense.

Still, the net result has not been to give the city a strong new visual identity because, perhaps strangely, Berlin has always felt insecure about itself. It claims to be more than 750 years old, but it was never an important medieval city. It could boast powerful figures like Frederick the Great in the 18th century and Otto von Bismarck, the so-called Iron Chancellor, in the late 19th, yet when the Prussian and German rulers dreamed of a monumental city that mirrored

their might, they looked elsewhere, notably Paris, for inspiration.

And when Hitler dreamed of a 1,000-year Reich, he, too, felt Berlin was somehow inadequate; he wanted it rebuilt on a pharaonic scale and renamed Germania.

Then, as a divided city, it lived the schizophrenia of simultaneously symbolizing both capitalist freedom and totalitarian order.

So as officials struggled to imagine the city's future, Berlin's perennial identity crisis weighed heavily. And in the end, they felt it safer to lower their sights, to shuffle through Berlin's previous identities in search of one that was reassuring.

"Perhaps it was inevitable," said Bernard Schneider, an architect and urban expert. "In moments of insecurity, you rely on regressive feelings and ideas. If you wake up after 60 years in a coma and you're asked to dance a piroquette, you simply can't do it."

The rest of Germany — perhaps the rest of Europe — has always viewed Berlin with suspicion. True, briefly in the 1920s, it was the decadent fun capital of Europe and a laboratory for the Modernist architects — Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier and others — of the Bauhaus movement. But in thinking about Berlin of late, most West Germans do not recall "Cabaret" and all that. For them, as much as Hitler or even communism, the city represents Prussian militarism, Protestant severity and a shift in Germany's focus from Western Europe to Central Europe. This distrust surfaced when the 662-member Bundestag, the Parliament, voted in 1991 to move the capital from Bonn to Berlin. The resolution was adopted by a majority of just 17 votes.

The first idea mooted was to build a new government district on a campuslike site in Berlin. But that became a factor, and the Bonn government decided instead to make maximum use of existing buildings in Berlin, notably two vast ones constructed by the Nazis: Hitler's Reichsbank, which later served as the headquarters of the East German Communist Party, will become the Foreign Ministry, and Goering's Air Force Ministry, called the House of Ministries under communism, will serve as the new Finance Ministry.

The government was always more sensitive to symbolism and, above all, to a question that would color much of the debate about the new Berlin: Should Germany try to obliterate its past or learn to live with its own (not always pleasant) history?

PEOPLE

AN elderly New Zealand woman wants to obtain a love letter in a bottle written by her father to her mother just before he died in World War I. The New Zealand Herald reports. The heart-rending note from Private Thomas Hughes to his wife, Elizabeth, was thrown into the sea in a bottle as he traveled to France almost 85 years ago. Twelve days later he was killed. The bottle was netted recently by a fisherman, Steve Gowan, in the Thames Estuary in Essex, Hughes's daughter, Emily Crowhurst, now 86, who lives in Auckland, was 2 in 1914 when her father kissed her and her mother good-bye and headed off to battle with the Durham Light Infantry. Bidding farewell to his wife, Hughes wrote in his letter: "Ta Ta sweet for the present — your hubby."

Fernanda Montenegro didn't win the Oscar, but the Brazilian government has given her a greater honor. President Fernando Henrique Cardoso awarded the actress the National Order of Merit in the highest degree, the top distinction a civilian can receive. "All of Brazil felt prouder, raised its self-esteem by seeing you, not now at the Oscars, but throughout your whole life," Cardoso said. Montenegro was the first Latin American actress to be nominated for an Academy Award for best actress for her performance in "Central Station."

money it won in a legal battle with Elizabeth Taylor to AIDS charities, which are among her favorite causes. "We have nothing but respect for Elizabeth Taylor and her tireless work for charities," the Enquirer's editor, Steve Coz, said. "We are happy to donate some of this money to her favorite cause." Among the donations is a \$30,000 sum to be split between the Comprehensive AIDS Program of Palm Beach County and the Emmaus House AIDS hospice in West Palm Beach, Florida.

A Big Day for the Tappets

BOSTON — Last year, President Bill Clinton was the commencement speaker at MIT. This year it will be Tom and Ray Magliozzi. Never heard of them? They're better known as "Click and Clack," the Tappet brothers, hosts of the syndicated National Public Radio talk show "Car Talk."

Part mechanics' self-help, part comedy hour, their show is heard on 370 NPR stations. They once advised a nun to consider having a special collection at Mass to pay for new tires on her Plymouth Sundance.

The brothers themselves are graduates of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology — Tom in 1958 with an economics degree, Ray in 1972 with a humanities degree. The ceremony is June 4.

Coz said Monday. Taylor and her then husband, Larry Fortensky, filed a libel and slander suit against the tabloid in 1993 over a story that said he had threatened a neighbor in a real estate dispute. A judge dismissed the case and ordered Taylor to pay the tabloid more than \$500,000 in legal costs.

A disk jockey in Glendale, California, claims he was fired for playing the new CD by Pope John Paul II, but the Christian station KIEV says his radio show was canceled because he broadcast profane rock music. Paul (Kaptain Kaos) Volpe was dismissed when he played the Pope's "Abba Pater" disk, Volpe's attorney, Cary W. Goldstein, said. Playing the recording was a violation of KIEV's new directive not to play any foreign language music, the lawyer said. "They were worried about the content because they couldn't understand it. But it's the Pope!" a Goldstein consultant, Marvin Mitchelson, said. "What could be a better example of peace and understanding?" Volpe's show was replaced by a political talk show.

Michael Jackson's latest song is reportedly dedicated to the Kosovo Albanian refugees. All proceeds from the single, "What More Can I Give?," will go toward helping the hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians who have fled or been driven out of their homes in Kosovo, Jackson told The Mirror newspaper in London.



Private Thomas Hughes in his World War I uniform.

The National Enquirer says it will donate some of the



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		Spain	900-99-00-11
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